The Beaver

WINTER 1970

"Henry Kelsey came down with a good fleet of Indians; and hath travelled and endeavoured to keep the Peace among them according to my Order."

Governor George Geyer, York Fort, wrote this in 1692 of Company explorer Henry Kelsey, renowned for his expeditions to the prairie country. He was the first man of his time in Western Canada to master the difficult but essential technique of living and travelling like an Indian, to work seriously on the native languages and, most important of all, to act as peacemaker between the various tribes.

Great men — past and present — build a great Company.

Hudson's Bay Company

INCORPORATED 2ND MAY 1670

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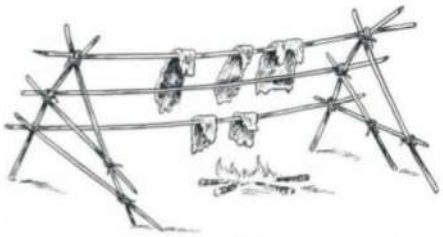

Chipewyan rack for drying meat.

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'Indians Hunting'. An oil painting, 1851, by G. P. Manley. From the H B C Collection.

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THE INDIAN TRADERS

Since this article was written and published in the Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. XXVI, No. 1, some ten years ago, it has served to focus a fair volume of discussion and research. Discussion has been stimulating and critical; but not unfriendly. The chief new consideration which has emerged is that for the Indian fur-hunting and fur-trading were by-products of the more important hunt for food. He killed birds, deer, caribou, buffalo, seals and even beaver for their meat; and he lived largely on that meat or on fish. Furs, and the European goods to be got from furs, were luxuries. Firearms, ironware, tobacco and liquor could indeed become compulsive luxuries. But they bore an indirect, commercialized relationship to hunting activity and that activity naturally responded more directly and more readily to the promptings of hunger than to a desire for possessions. This consideration does not, of course, run counter to the main theme of the article; on the contrary it advances a reason for accepting it as consonant with the Indian's way of life.

The theme of the article has, in general, stood the test of discussion and of further research. The traders were right when they said that 'The giving Indians larger Price would occasion the Decrease of Trade'; the merchants were wrong when they claimed that 'Tis plain a greater Price would encourage the Indians to kill more'. The price-mechanism as a stimulant to production worked in reverse. But while the main theme has stood up, explanation and understanding have broadened out. Instead of the Indian's reaction being regarded as something strange, if not unique, it now appears not only as normal and predictable among the Indians but as a very general reaction in non-European (or not 'Europeanized') societies and even among Europeans unless and until they have been affected by comparatively modern practices and precepts.

This entails a challenge to historical and economic writing which is based on the assumption that European merchant concepts of the price-mechanism were self-evident, and that greater price would always induce the Indian to kill more, the farmer to grow more, the artisan to manufacture more. That this is a dangerous assumption can perhaps best be shown by three quotations. Of these the first, from Josiah Child's *New Discourse of Trade*, published in 1690, reads that with cheap food 'the poor in England will not work above two days in a week, their humour being such that they will not provide for a hard time, but just work so much and no more as may maintain them in that mean condition to which they have become accustomed'. The second quotation would come from the *Spectator* for 19th October, 1711. Henry Martin, writing there on 'Political Arithmetic' says that 'The truth is, the poor, which are the bulk of a nation, work only that they may live; and if with two days labour they can get a wretched subsistence, they will hardly be brought to work the other four'. To bring the problem up to date, the third quotation would be from the report on a visit to Uganda by an agricultural researcher in 1969. 'Many a time,' he writes, 'have peasant farmers been presented with superb new varieties of crops which yield so much better than those in use. But what do they do? Just grow a smaller acreage so that they do not have to work so hard to get the same adequate income or food supply. And very sensible they are too, in many ways.'

What has happened is that discussion has gone from a factual description of the practices of the fur trade (a description which has not been seriously challenged) to attempts to explain and rationalize what appeared to be eccentricities there observed. Explanation and further examination lead to the conclusion that the apparent eccentricities have always been far more normal and commonplace than historians and economists with European backgrounds have assumed, or than European merchants have pretended. E.E.R.

Professor E. E. Rich, Master of St Catharine's College, Cambridge, was for twenty-one years general editor of the Hudson's Bay Record Society and is the author, among other books on the fur trade, of 'The History of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1670-1870'. Quotations from the H B C Archives are made with permission of the Company.

THE INDIAN TRADERS

by E. E. Rich

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA

IT WAS A STRANGE CARICATURE of the Red Indian which emerged as the 'noble savage' from the scrutiny of the statesmen and the *philosophes* of the second half of the eighteenth century. 'Mild and hospitable when at peace, though merciless in war beyond any known degree of human ferocity,' the 'Indian was indebted to no one but himself; his virtues, his vices and his prejudices were his own work; he had grown up in the wild independence of his nature.' So wrote Alexis de Tocqueville, emphasizing a great truth but suggesting an important untruth. For the Indian was indeed independent in spirit, and his vices and many of his virtues were alien to Europeans. But however independent his nature might be, he was not economically independent. The Ojibwa chief who met Alexander Henry at Michilimackinac in 1761 expressed much of the splendid independence of the Indians: 'Englishman, although you have conquered the French, you have not yet conquered us. We are not your slaves. These lakes, these woods and mountains, were left to us by our ancestors. They are our inheritance; and we will part with them to none.' Alexander Henry, however, was present at Michilimackinac precisely because he knew that the Indians were not independent economically; he had gone up, and he stayed up through the dangers and vicissitudes of Pontiac's rebellion, because there was no doubt at all that, despite his savagery and despite his independence, the Indian would trade for European goods as soon as they were brought within his grasp.

In modern terms we would say that the dichotomy between the independence of the Indian and his economic subservience, between the defiance of Alexander Henry

and his acceptance as a trader, lay in the way in which the frontier of trade had outrun the frontier of administration. The point was expressed even in the Royal Proclamation of 7 October, 1763 which decreed that all lands west of the Appalachian Mountains except for the territories of the Hudson's Bay Company and lands which were specifically allotted to the four colonies of Quebec, East Florida, West Florida, and Grenada, were to be set aside as a vast reserve for the use of the Indians. The reserve was indeed to be under British sovereignty, but no detailed arrangements for administration were ordered; it was evident that some vague paternal supervision was all that was intended and that the Indians might expect to live their own lives within these lands and that white settlers were to be forbidden. Yet the proclamation itself laid it down that the reserve should be 'open to Trade but not to Grants and Settlements', and there could be no denying that without trade with Europeans the Indians would have been denied something which was essential to their way of life.

Dependence on trade was not a new thing for the Indian in the eighteenth century. So far was he from preserving an existence which depended on hunting alone that from his first contacts with Europeans he had easily and naturally taken to habits in which the hunt continued to provide him with primary materials but in which trade, and dependence on European goods, played a dominant part; more than this, behind the direct contacts with European traders there spread a network of Indian middlemen who rapidly reached across North America, taking European goods inland and bringing furs out. To a large extent these Indian traders dictated the pattern of European expansion into the continent, and they influenced the character of the European trade even when they could not confine it.

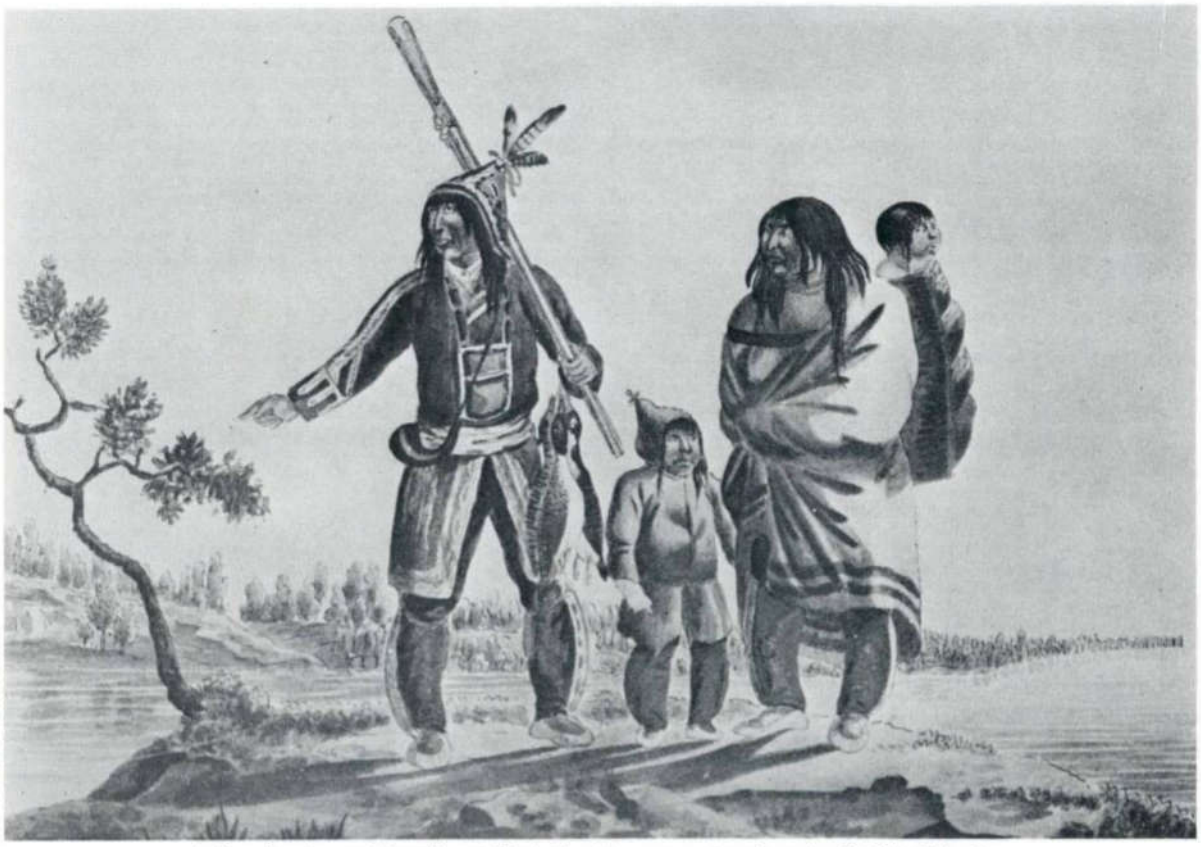
An Indian encampment, Lake Huron sketched by Paul Kane, 1845.

Naturally, the French were the first to meet this phenomenon, as their dependence on the fur trade brought them into alliance with the Hurons, the Montagnais, and the Ottawas, who controlled the fur routes through the Saguenay and the Ottawa Rivers. Such alliance brought them hostility from the Iroquois who controlled the fur routes to the south of the St Lawrence and who aimed to direct the furs of the north, by those routes, to their own patrons and allies, the Dutch and the English. Trade rivalry lay at the heart of the Iroquois wars which beset the French colony; and as the Iroquois dominated the region between the Alleghanies and the Great Lakes they cut off the Ottawas and the Hurons from Quebec and Montreal, they spread to the west and the north the tribes who had formerly hunted for the French market, and they made it necessary for the French themselves to voyage out into the west.

The French *coureur* had to break through the Iroquois cordon and to bring the Indians and their furs down to Quebec and Montreal under some sort of European leadership and protection—certainly under strong encouragement. The *coureurs*, moreover, were not only trying to break through the hostile cordon of the Iroquois; they were also trying to break through the possessive cordon of the middlemen, seeking an unspoiled tribe with its savage code of values, to whom furs would be cheap. The constant urge to reach out past the middlemen was a potent factor in French penetration; and it was that same urge which led to the foundation of the English Hudson's Bay Company and to national rivalry in the fur trade. But although it was the need to pass by the intermediary middlemen Indian traders which caused the foundation of the English Company, it seems to have taken the English more than a century to realize that the Indians—even the Crees with whom they made contact by the shores of the Bay—lapsed easily and naturally into a trading role.

How soon the Crees of the Bay adopted this way of life is not clear since the Company paid but little attention to the phenomena which would indicate such habits. But from the first foundation of their posts the English had been aware that Indians coming to trade had to run the gauntlet, and they sought a remedy by multiplying their posts on the coast and by sending enterprising young men up country to bring fresh Indians down to trade. In so doing they were fumbling round the edges of their problem while evidence of the inner reality lay all the time in their hands.

It was some years before the Company had a competent traveller ready to send inland, but in 1690-1 Henry Kelsey was sent up to the prairies and proved more than adequate for his task—at least as far as the English Company understood that task. The duty laid upon him was to journey up into the country of the Assinipoets (the Assiniboines) with the captain of that nation and to encourage the remote Indians to come down to trade, and his report was throughout pointedly directed to this



PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA

A Cree hunter and family at York Fort from a watercolour by P. Rindisbacher.

instruction. He found that the Indians who came down to trade at the Bay, and then returned inland armed with guns used those weapons to terrify their neighbours and to prevent them from breaking into their profitable monopoly. So much was obvious to Kelsey during the first part of his journey, before he reached the Saskatchewan, and as he went farther afield he found the pattern repeated. Westwards up the Saskatchewan he made contact with 'Indian strangers' (the 'Eagles brich Indians'), and found that they were afraid the Crees would murder them; and when he met with some 'stone Indians' or 'Mountain Poets' (probably a branch of the Assiniboines) he found that their chief ambition was to get him, and English arms, to help them in their wars. The 'Naywatame Poets' (perhaps the Gros Ventres from the area west of Cumberland House on the Saskatchewan) also were deeply embroiled with the Crees and were so afraid of Cree vengeance that Kelsey was told it was unlikely that he would meet with them, and they were also at grips with the Assiniboines with whom he was travelling.

Altogether this built up into a picture of a continent split by endless wars, with the Crees hostile to all the inland peoples. The lesson seemed to be that trade would be vastly increased if the Indians could only be persuaded to give up warfare and to hunt beaver instead, and that the Indians must be convinced that the Company did not bring them guns to kill each other but to hunt furs with. This was indeed a part, and a great part, of Kelsey's message that 'they must not go to wars for it will not be liked by the governor neither would he trade with them if they did not cease from warring'. But there was more in Kelsey's report than this. His realization of the major problem was revealed when he told the Assiniboines that beaver hunting 'will be better liked on then their killing their Enemies *when they come to the factory*'. I have italicized a phrase which showed that he accepted the need to bring the distant Indians safe through a hostile cordon. The Assiniboines knew perfectly well what was at issue, for their reply was, 'What signified a peace with those Indians considering they knew not the use of Cannoes?' Kelsey, they implied, was wasting his time trying to make them allow the far Indians access to the Bay, if the far Indians could not in any case make the journey. This was something of a smooth answer, which left unsolved the question whether the Assiniboines or the Crees would, or would not, allow such access if it should prove possible; and when Kelsey had eventually met the Naywatame Poets, had reassured them, and had got from them a promise to come down to trade at the Bay, it was only to find that the Crees 'struck a new fear into them that they would not venture down'.

JOHN ROSS ROBERTSON COLLECTION, METROPOLITAN TORONTO CENTRAL LIBRARY

'Indians bartering', by Coke Smyth.

In that his purpose was to bring the Indians down to trade, not to pioneer a route by which Englishmen could go inland, it did not matter that Kelsey's Journal was difficult and inexact, and that to this day it is not possible to tell precisely where he went. The formative thing which he had revealed was that the possessive Crees (and to a lesser extent the Assiniboines), with the prestige and the fire-power got from direct contact with the English, were forbidding access to the Bay. The use which the English Company made of Kelsey's Journal has never been clear, but they do not seem to have understood this reaction of their Indians to trade until it was brought home to them in different form some sixty years later. By that time the preventive cordon had changed its nature and its nationality. No longer was it a cordon of Indians anxious to monopolize the trade of bringing the furs down; it was a cordon of Frenchmen intent to intercept the furs themselves—and for the Company the problem did not change when Canada came into English hands and the interceptors became 'new subjects' of the Crown.

That the French should so figure was due to the very nature of their fur trade. They had always known what the English Company took so long to learn, that the trading Indians were jealous of their monopoly and would exploit it (in their own way) if they could. As early as 1603 Champlain had written of the way in which the Montagnais traded furs with remote Indians and then brought them in to trade. It was well known, too, that the Hurons had an annual rendezvous with the many tribes to the north of Trois Rivières and that they scared these Indians out of making direct contact with the French. Alongside of the hostility between French and Iroquois there developed a lasting (but not always active) rivalry between the *coureur de bois* and the Indian middleman. The French were always conscious that the Ottawas and the Hurons tried to control the trade as it came down to their posts, and that these great trading tribes got their peltries 'in the North, from the people of the interior'. It was as the French reached out past their middlemen that they came to the Sioux to the south of Lake Superior and to the west of Lake Michigan. They came, too, to the Crees north of Lake Superior and so, with the epic journey of Groseilliers and Radisson in 1659, to a realization of the wealth of Hudson Bay. There was in this movement a recognizable need to outpace the Iroquois, and to keep on the heels of the Indians whom the Iroquois had dispersed westwards; but there was an equally recognizable desire to make direct contact with the primary producers of furs. It was this which took the French up into the focal area of Lake Winnipeg, where they controlled the furs which came down the Saskatchewan and through Cedar Lake to the rivers which would bring them to the English posts by the Bay.

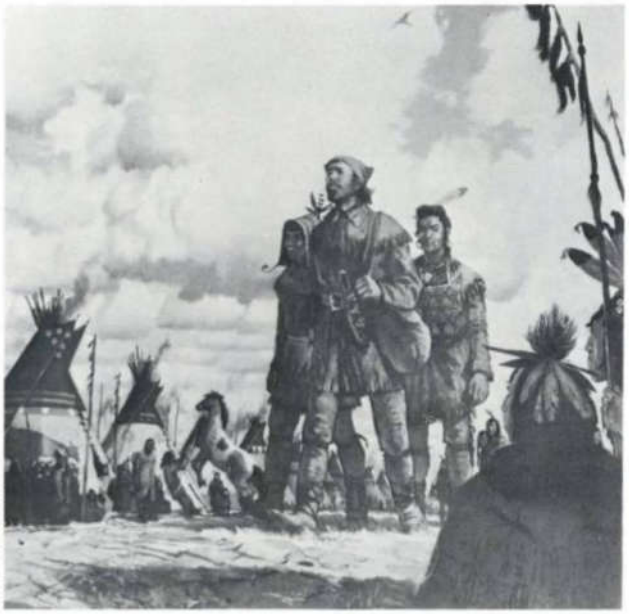
The English records, in the meantime, carry no evidence that the conflict between European traders and Indian middlemen was either recognized or accepted. Following after Kelsey, emphasis was on turning the Indians away from warfare and to enthusiastic hunting. But this did not amount to a recognition that much of the warfare was of a peculiar kind, designed to keep rivals away from participation in direct trade. This was not

from lack of evidence, however. For instance, when in the period after 1713 the English tried to expand their trade inland they found that the Crees had driven the 'Northern Indians' (the Chipewyans) away from Churchill River, and they had to send William Stuart off from York Fort in the direction of Great Slave Lake to make a peace with the Chipewyans and to bring them down to trade. The Crees were difficult allies in this venture, for they killed the first Chipewyans whom they met. But then they reported prospects of trade from the direction of Lake Athabasca, and acting on their own without white companions, in 1715 they made a journey which opened up a trade in which they acted as middlemen for the Chipewyans.

The Crees, clearly, were still jealously guarding their position as middlemen. But the English Company did not seem to realize the position until the French interception of furs led them almost by accident to discover the pattern of Indian trade on which they depended. Then, in 1754, Anthony Henday was sent inland from York Fort in company with a band of Crees who were returning from trade. He was in search of the Earchithinues, members of the Blackfoot, and the Company was still harping on its old refrain—these strange Indians must be persuaded to live at peace with their neighbours, to hunt beaver and to bring it down to the Bay.

Henday's journey has received well-merited praise as an epic of northern travel. He journeyed up the Saskatchewan to the 'Muscuty Plains', he hunted the buffalo on foot with the Crees and on horseback with the Blackfoot, and he almost certainly got within sight of the Rockies. There is much here which deserves the closest attention, much which presaged a new chapter in the history of the English Company. But in many ways the least spectacular parts of the Journal which was sent home were the most interesting. Henday recorded the astonishing way in which his Indians refused to hunt beaver to bring down to the Bay. He tried his best to urge them to do so. But they merely went their way, enjoying themselves and telling him that when spring came they would have all the beaver they wanted, without the trouble of hunting it. He slowly, almost reluctantly, became convinced that the Assiniboines and Crees who yearly brought furs to the Bay caught very little of those furs themselves. When spring came they were able to trade their European goods, many of them soiled and worn out, for all the furs they wanted, and Henday himself carried on a very profitable trade.

The band with which Henday was travelling was only one of many which had returned inland with the Company's goods, to trade them with the hunting Blackfoot and the Assiniboines for yet more furs. The system was continent-wide and depended partly on the reluctance of the hunters to travel, partly on obstruction by the middlemen. The Crees with whom Henday was travelling had promised that they also would try to persuade the Blackfoot to come down to the Bay. Henday's own



H B C COLLECTION

Henday enters a Blackfoot camp.

persuasions were quite useless, for the Blackfoot told him that they got all they needed without that trouble, that they could not manage canoes, and that they liked their buffalo meat and would not live on fish, as they would have to do on the long journey. But if Henday persuaded in vain the Crees never opened their mouths on the subject; and Henday quite accepted the reason, which was that 'if they could be brought down to trade, the others would be obliged to trap their own Furs: which at present two thirds of them do not'.

Even then the Company read the lesson rather in the light of the French threat than as an indication of the Indians' habits, for Henday had observed the inland French at their trade and he had reported the way in which they took all the best and lightest furs, leaving only the heavy and poor-quality skins to come down to the Bay. But his Journal was the point from which a policy of penetration to the Saskatchewan stemmed, and as the inland trade gathered momentum more and more evidence of the trade carried on by the Indians came to the notice of the Committee. Moses Norton reported from Churchill in 1765 on the difficulties of getting the 'Far Indians' in to trade, that the Northern Indians got nine or ten beaver from them for a hatchet (for which they paid only one beaver at Churchill) which caused him 'to be of Opinion that the Northern Indians will rather be a Hinderance to their coming to the Fort than otherwise in order to keep that Monopoly in their Power as much as they can'. To the south the same story was unfolded as Tomison and his fellows reported from Cumberland and Hudson House that their Indians came to them starving and unable even to kill buffalo because they had traded their guns to the Assinipoets; it was small wonder

that they had done so, for they were able to get thirty-six beaver for a good gun and twenty-five to thirty for a half-worn gun when the Company's standard was at most fourteen to a new gun. They concluded that few even of those who came to the inland posts trapped their own furs, and they reported much the same sort of life as Henday had done. Their Indians laughed at exhortations that they should 'pitch away a Beaver hunting'; they would see the Assinipoets in the spring and would trade furs with them. In the meantime they were very indolent and spent their time in gaming and smoking. But in spring, sure enough, they got all the furs they wanted, from trade not from hunting.

The Indian way of life was old and deeply ingrained. It did not change as the white men drove their own trade over the Rockies and into the Pacific slope. David Thompson's efforts to find a way across the Rockies brought him up against the opposition of the Piegans. They had been on good terms with the traders as long as posts remained on the east side of the mountains, for so the Piegans could get arms and other European goods, and could bar access to their rivals and enemies farther west, especially to the Kootenay tribe. It was a detailed repetition of the classical pattern of Indian trade relations, and it had serious results for Thompson, whose arms and fortified posts made it possible for the Kootenay and Kullyspell Indians to defy Piegan dominance.

The other aspects of this trade system were revealed when Samuel Black in 1824 penetrated to the headwaters of the Finlay and Stikine Rivers. He found European goods in the possession of Indians who had never seen white men, and he saw that the Sekani and Thloadinni of the interior were supplied by the 'trading Nahani' who in turn got their goods from the Tlingits of the coast. It was a jealously guarded trade, and the Thloadinni and Sekani were rigorously excluded from the annual rendezvous with the Tlingits. When AEmilius Simpson, Ogden and McLoughlin came to report on the coastal trade which came down from the hinterland of New Caledonia they filled in this picture, for it was one of the great grievances of the Hudson's Bay men that the furs which the Russians traded at the coast were brought down by Indian traders from lands which were supposed to be under English control.

As knowledge accumulated it became clear that the Russian fur trade on the coast depended far less on the fur seals and sea otters than on the land furs which came, probably down Nass River, to about the vicinity of the Russian post at Sitka. Attention therefore concentrated on 'the Port of Nass which is the grand mart of the coast both for Sea Otters and Land Skins', and in due course the Company set up its post at Nass (or rather Simpson) River. The post set up at Fort Simpson in 1831, however, failed to give direct communication with the interior, the coastal Indians proved shrewd traders, and unco-operative, and by 1834 it was agreed that the post must be moved to Stikine River, where perhaps the route to the Indians of the interior might be found. Ogden's attempt to carry out this plan in 1834 met with opposition from the Russians, and formed the subject of almost endless diplomatic correspondence. At least equally significant was the way in which Ogden was opposed by the Indians, who assumed a tone which that doughty trader 'was not in the habit of hearing' and told him they would not permit him to navigate up Stikine River since that would injure their trade with the uplands Indians. This aspect of Ogden's failure was not recounted when the Company sent in their narrative of the affair to the British government, for they were anxious above all to make out a case against the Russians. But it was a real element in the correspondence within the Company, and further evidence to bear out the Indians' desire to control the posts and their routes to the interior came when Ogden went to shift the unhandy little post of Fort Simpson to a more propitious site. Indian opposition to the move caused scenes which plainly showed the reluctance of the

Pen and ink sketch believed to be of the Russian American Company headquarters at Sitka. H B C ARCHIVES

Kutchin hunters sketched by Alexander Murray of the H B C who built Fort Yukon in Russian territory, 1847-48.

Indians to allow the trade post to pass from their control.

These are a few of the innumerable instances which could be adduced to show that from the middle of the eighteenth century onwards even the English Company was at last fully aware of what, in any case, was a basic fact in the North American fur trade. The trading Indians had dictated the pattern of trade, and reaction against the monopoly of the trading Indians had dictated the expansion of the trade from the earliest days. The Indian and his role were all-important and in straightforward terms they are apt to be taken for granted by the historians of the fur trade. But they were not the accepted commonplaces of the English Company for many important years; and when they were at last acknowledged as the normal facts of the trade they were accepted in a somewhat peculiar way because, the French having intervened (and later the North Westers), English attention was concentrated on European rivals. So, little attention was paid to the need to reach past the trading Indians and to secure better prices by direct access to the hunting tribes. Where the Indians figured in English policy was in a series of attempts to prevent them from diverting furs to European rivals rather than in efforts to penetrate through the trading Indians to the hunters. The result was, of course, much the same, for within a generation of Henday's voyage the 'Inland Trade' had become the main source of furs, the posts by the Bay had become chiefly supply depots for the inland posts, and the organization of supply routes had become the main duty of the Company's governors.

But in all this development the motive was to counteract European rivalry, as it was later when the Company decided to establish the Babine country and the interior of New Caledonia. The trading Indian was easily accepted; it was his task to bring furs down to the coast. The Company believed that this function was 'better performed by them than could be done by Europeans', and as long as the trading Indians brought the furs they were worth the cost. That cost was a resultant of the price which the Company had to pay for furs, and that in turn resulted from the Indians' habits of trade, many of which were quite alien to a European trade system. But the English accepted the Indians' habits along with their function. With a strange mixture of simplicity and sophistication English and Indians fell into a system which fitted in with the Indian background. Much that was formal and social rather than primarily economic found a proper place in such interchanges, and trade at the Bay-side posts soon developed the formal and public character of a great social occasion. Through the artless description of James Isham there emerges a clear picture of the mixture of formality and cunning, and the characters of the Indians with whom he had to deal. 'They may be Reckon'd a crafty sort of people, cheating, Stealing and Lying they glory in,' he wrote. 'If they grow obstobilious, a Little correction, then sweatning makes them pliant . . . they are Cunning and sly to the Last Degree, the more you give, the more they Crave,—the generality of them are Loth to part with anything they have, if at any time they give they Expect Double

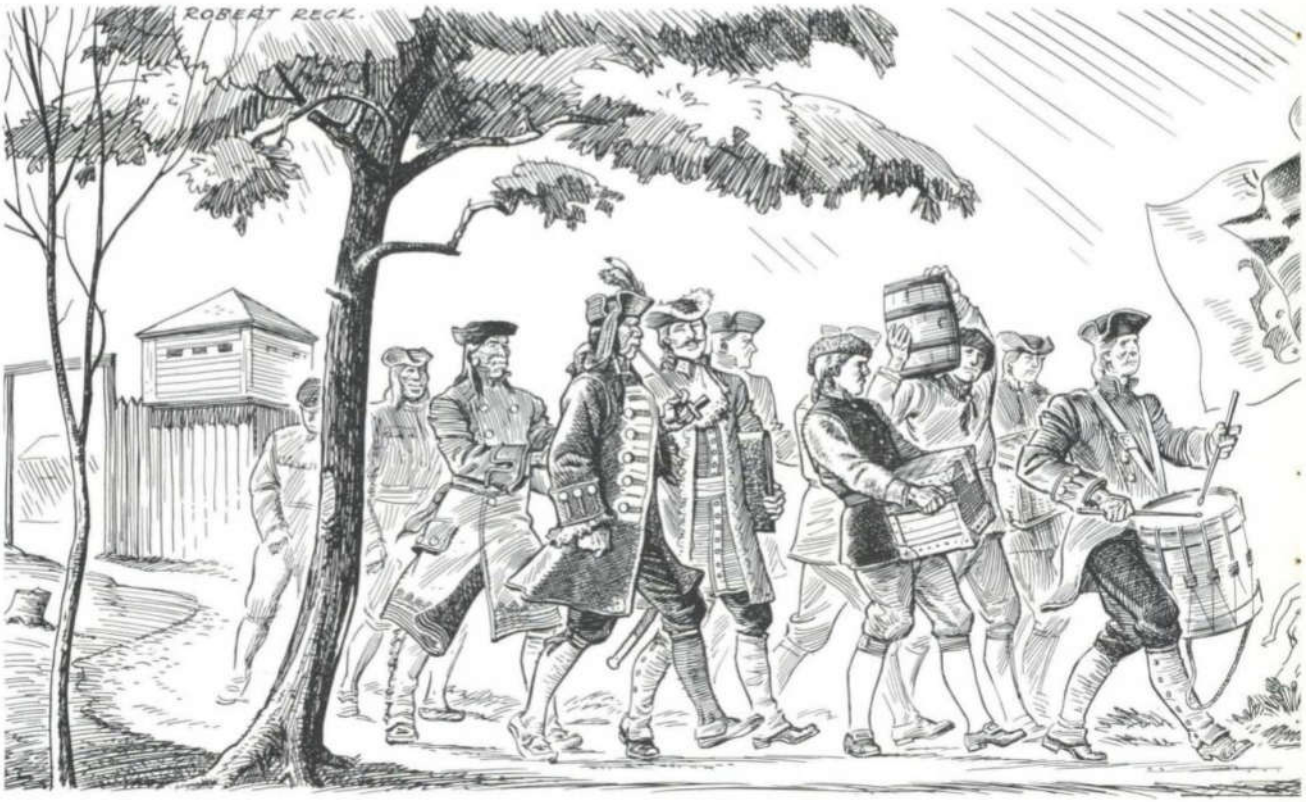
Satisfaction.' This was a picture of professional traders, obstinate and hard bargainers and without much respect for even the outward observance of European virtues in the way of honesty or truthfulness.

Yet Isham was careful to make it clear that these Indians had their own rules of conduct, and they had reacted to a European idea of price to the extent that they soon got to know the fixed range of the English Company's Standard of Trade. They were shrewd enough to get the best both of the Company's fixed standard system and of the Canadian flexibility; for whereas the French gave presents, and a dram of brandy before trade began, and then made the best bargains they could (sometimes even leaving small articles such as needles about so that the Indian might steal them and so come easily and sweetly to the actual trade) the English system if rigidly applied would have left no place for such *douceurs* but would have given 'better pennyworths' on the day.

The Indians held the whip hand, with an alternative market open, and the English Company not only had to send out captains' outfits and other presents to attract the Indians but also had to connive at the complicated system of the 'Double Standard' of trade and the resultant 'Overplus Trade'. Here the inflexibility of the English system, which was based on the need to maintain central control and the need to eliminate competition between neighbouring posts, was modified so that the traders gave short measure and, while ostensibly maintaining the official standard, built up a reserve of 'Overplus' goods from which they could make presents, and put themselves on something of the same footing as the Canadians. There was nothing underhand about the double standard of trade; accounts were kept of it, the Committee in London knew all (or almost all) about it, and there never was any feeling that in making an overplus the trader was swindling the Company or taking a perquisite for himself. The overplus was applied to the trade on behalf of the Company and in practice became a means of mitigating the inflexibility of the fixed standard.

The Indians also knew all about the overplus and the double standard, and within their own conventions they were sophisticated enough to accept it and to work to it. When the Company tried to adjust the standard the Indians reacted strongly and would take their furs elsewhere, and when the traders tried to work the double standard too hard they protested and tried to discount the extortion by exacting more presents and perquisites. Here again Isham sets out the picture with his description of the Indian captain and his gang. The first encounters would be purely formal and social, with an exchange of presents and of a dram and a pipe, and even the trade sessions would begin with a pipe and a ceremonial exchange of compliments. Then the captain would begin his trade talk with exhortations to the Englishman to give sound goods and fair measure. No more should the traders put their fingers into the bowl as they measured out the powder, and the yardstick by which cloth was measured was to be brought out for inspection. The French were enticing the Indians to trade, but they would come to the English if only they could get sound value and fair treat-

Trading ceremony at York Factory.



ment. 'This is the Cheifest Subjects of their harange tho they talk a great Deal more, of Little signification'; and in itself it embodied the cautious approach of hard bargainers working within a formalized pattern of trade.

But although the trading Indians were so long habituated to their business and so shrewd in their conduct of it, they were not logical in their reactions. They knew the formal standard of trade, and they gave information (not always reliable) about the standards according to which the French traded. But they accepted the double standard as long as it was applied within known conventions. It was impossible, apparently, to make a clean departure from the standard and to demand excess furs for an article such as a gun or hatchet for which the price was known. The overplus could only be got from commodities which were measured out as they were traded. The overplus therefore had to be got from the trade in brandy, cloth, powder, and tobacco of the major commodities, and from laces, gartering, beads, and paint from among the minor luxuries. Even here the Indian accepted some variation but would not stand for arbitrary changes or exploitation, and there was no attempt on either side to raise prices in accordance with the laws of supply and demand. The standard, perhaps with some accepted adjustment according to the locality or the personalities involved, was applied whether furs were scarce or plentiful, and whether goods were in supply or not. When the Indians had got used to a convention there was no breaking it with safety; if once they had got used to receiving a yard of tobacco for a beaver—and the Company's Brazil tobacco was traded by length, not by weight—they would go elsewhere to traders who would give only a foot rather than abate an inch of the yard to which they thought they were entitled.

This was a strange, but not unlikely, combination of practices; more strange was the way in which the Indians, over the years, preserved the primitive notion of gift exchange in their trade. Whatever was available was to be had for the asking. This led the Company to set up its rules that its traders would only trade 'through a hole in the wall'. The Indians were not to be allowed in the trade room at trade time, and Isham's 'Observations on the Trader and a Gang of Indians' fully support the accusation of trade through a hole in the wall. Here, in a lively phrase-book dialogue, the Indian says, 'When shall we trade?' and is answered, 'Come and trade'; to which he replies, 'Open the window'. Trade itself begins with the trader saying, 'The window is open', and then 'Open your bundles of beaver'. Then, when trade (and the dialogue) is over, he asks the Indian 'Have you done?' and gets his answer, 'Yes you may shutt the window'.

Compared with the French habits of trading in the woods, or the description which one of the early 'Pedlars' from Montreal gave of himself as trading on the Saskatchewan in the midst of utter confusion 'with two hundred Drunken Vilions about me', the Hudson's Bay Company's practice was suspicious and unattractive. But it was realistic in that it took into account the Indians' tendency to pilfer, and in that it took into account the lasting notions of property and trade which

B. A. JOHNSTONE

Trade goods from the H B C Collection: tobacco carrot, llama braid trim, trade sash (also called L'Assomption sash), bundles of black and white linen thread, canoe knives, copper kettle, skeins of beads.

B. A. JOHNSTONE

Flintlock gun with cowhide covering on sawn-off barrel, axe head, powder horn with brass trigger mechanism for measuring powder, butchering knife, musket ball and musket ball mould, gun worms, drop shot and (at top) flints for musket and pistol.

the Indians accepted. The price element in exchanging goods was not fully accepted. The Chipewyans, for example, were reckoned to be dull, but sober and industrious and not addicted to brandy. But when Malchom Ross penetrated up to establish Fairford House in 1796 he found that 'They think that where ever they see goods it ought to be given them, whether they have anything to give in return or not. They also make Sacrifices of their property on the death of their relations and then demaunds from the traders such goods as they have sacrificed for the Good of their deceased Relations and doe not looke well on it if denied them. They even had the Impudance to ask what the Goods is brought into their Country for if they are not to get them as they need them,' and they topped off this unanswerable question by stating that 'They had no right to go without the Necessaries for want of furs when goods was at their doors'. Ross, as he recorded, was obliged to drop the subject!

Here, it may perhaps seem, is nothing more than a savage people trying to exploit the advantage of finding a well-gooded and defenceless trader in their midst. But something more is evident. When this outspoken attitude to property in exchange is set alongside the other anomalies of the Indian trade it becomes clear that, with all the sophistication which went with the knowledge of the set prices according to the Standard of Trade, there went a persistent reluctance to accept European notions or the basic values of the European approach. A glance at the commodities which were traded reveals something of this inherent difference in approach. It was always said that the Indian would only trade for necessaries; but that word did not carry its normal European meaning in this context. Rather, if it had any accurate meaning, it meant goods for immediate consumption. But it did not mean precisely that, for the Indian would always supply himself first with powder and shot. After that would come what the trader would call 'necessaries' and what we would call luxuries—tobacco, spirits, gay cloth of different kinds, beads, and caps, with articles such as ice-chisels, snow-glasses, and hatchets varying in priority.

There was much variation in the demand, from year to year, trader to trader, and Indian to individual Indian. But a significant fact is that, as far as can be ascertained, the Indian never traded oatmeal. From the early days, in 1684, the Company had shipped oatmeal out to the Bay in the hope that the Indians would take some as they needed 'by way of trade'. But trade time was not a time at which the Indians were thinking of the possibility of semi-starvation during the winter, and the need to take a little oatmeal away as a necessity to see them through. Oatmeal did not figure in the Standard of Trade and it never became an item of trade. But it was essential for survival; and since the survival of the Indians was a necessity for the Company's trade it was habitually shipped out and given away to starving bands of Indians as they came in to the forts during hard winters. On occasion a postmaster would trade a little oatmeal in exchange for fresh game during a winter, but this again was more nearly akin to gift exchange than to proper trade, a pleasant and friendly interchange of surpluses which made variety of fare possible, and no more. Year after year the Indian had good reason to fear that before winter was out he would need to fall back on oatmeal. If reduced to that extremity he would come in to the post and beg for help. But he would not lay aside that 'necessity' at trade time, and from the start the Company was realistic enough to order that although trade was to be hoped for, especially in provisions, yet 'when they are in want we must leave it to your Discretion to give what is fitting'.

The steady refusal to regard oatmeal as a necessity despite the endless instances of the need to fall back on it may, of course, be taken as just another example of the improvidence of the Indian. It certainly was that. Once given the power of indiscriminate killing, the Indians decimated the great buffalo herds on which they depended for their meat, they almost exterminated the beaver from many of the most wealthy areas under their control, and they even brought the coverted area inland from Nelson River to such a state that in his 1824 journey to the Columbia George Simpson recorded that in the whole of the Nelson River District he did not see a solitary vestige of beaver. Not only furs were dissipated; much of the buffalo meat went for pemmican and was traded, but much was for the Indians' own consumption and waste. Henday recorded the promiscuous slaughter, and all later accounts confirmed the fact, while Isham had written that 'I have found frequently Indians to Kill some scores of Deer, and take only the tongues or heads, and Let the body or carcass go a Drift with the tide, therefore I think itt's no wonder godalmighty shou'd fix his Judgemen't upon these Vile Reaches, and occation their being starvd. and in want of food, when they make such havock of what the Lord sent them plenty of'.

But this improvidence had a deeper significance than would similar improvidence in a European, for it meant that the Indian did not react to the ordinary European notions of property nor to the normal European economic motives. This lay at the root of the whole matter, and this was a problem which was brought to an issue in the Parliamentary Enquiry of 1749. Many interwoven problems were before that committee—whether there was in fact a Northwest Passage, whether the Hudson's Bay Company was bound by its charter to search for such a passage, and whether it had engaged in such a search or not; whether there were possibilities of founding an agricultural colony by penetrating up the rivers from Hudson Bay, and whether it was the Company's interest or policy to attempt such a venture; whether the Company treated the fur trade as a monopoly in which equal profits could be got from a limited trade as from expansion and enterprise, and whether an expanded trade would provide a greater market for goods of English

manufacture. By their European processes of thought the critics of the Company were convinced that the trade could be expanded and many more furs traded. So more English-made goods would be used, and the business would become more of a 'national interest'. Arguments were ranged for and against the many contentions; and after the policy of reaching out to the Indians in the hinterland had been reviewed against the assumption that the Indians brought down to the Bay all the furs which they had for trade came the theoretical argument that more furs would be produced if better prices were given.

This would be the normal European reaction, although Adam Smith had not yet enunciated the dogma that when the market price of any commodity rises the quantity brought to market will increase until it is adequate for the effectual demand. But an interesting feature of the Report of the 1749 enquiry (as of so much which was written and spoken at that period) was the way in which practising merchants enunciated the classical economic doctrines as part of their rule-of-thumb trading precepts. 'Tis a Maxim in Trade,' said William Wansey, merchant of Bristol, 'that a large Quantity of Goods brought to Market reduces the Price'—and of course he was only uttering the commonplace of every farmer's wife who ever took eggs to market. 'Tis plain a greater Price would encourage the Indians to kill more,' said another merchant. But these English economic rules did not apply to the Indian trade. On the contrary, all who had any knowledge of that trade were convinced that a rise in prices would lead to the Indians bringing down less furs, not more—'The giving Indians larger Price would occasion the Decrease of Trade'.

The traders who denied the merchants' assumptions were, of course, Company men and it may be suspected that their evidence was tainted. But not all of them were still in the Company's employ, or friendly to the Company. On the whole, when the Report is read in relation to the numerous documents in the Company's possession there emerges a coherent picture, and the reader is driven to respect the ability of the Parliamentary Committee to get at the truth despite the bias and the ignorance of witnesses.

The Company's evidence, in the first place, was clear and definite. It was accepted as a primary consideration that the Indians with whom the Company traded at the Bay were traders rather than hunters. This did not mean that they had lost the habit of hunting, but it did mean that their chief task was to take European goods inland and to trade them. 'The Natives on the Continent Surrounding the Bay go up into the Inland Countries from the Northernmost Coast and the Western Side as also the Eastern Side and in the Months of June and July bring down to the Co's Settlements all the Furs of those Wild Creatures they kill in the Winter, in exchange and Barter for which the Co supplys them with such sorts of European goods as they stand in need of which they carry up to the several Nations that Inhabit these Inland Countries.' The Company had at last accepted the facts, and it was established that trade was with Indians well accustomed to exchanges and, indeed, living as professional middlemen. Next came the iniquities of the trade. The Double Standard and the Overplus were revealed, with details of the way in which brandy was watered and short measure was given in cloth, shot, and powder. The assumption at this stage was that the Company was exploiting its monopoly to defraud the Indians and that better treatment would bring more furs to the English market. Christopher Bannister, for example, with twenty-two years' service in the Bay behind him, told the Committee that 'if the Indians were better used, the Company might have more Trade; for the Factors don't give them a sufficient Price, and then they growl and grumble'. He had himself been ordered 'to shorten the Measure for Powder', and he knew what he was talking about. But even Bannister admitted that it would not be sensible for the Company to pay twice the price for its furs unless it was forced to do so, and that despite their treatment the Indians continued to come to the Bay.

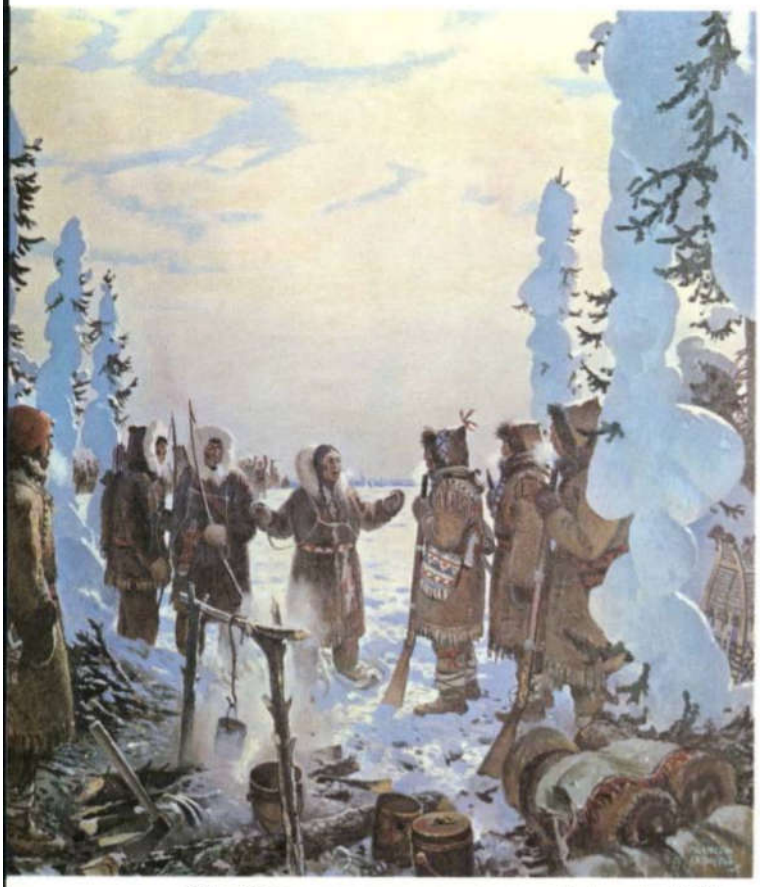
Joseph Robson, the disgruntled mason and surveyor, William White, for seventeen years clerk at Albany and Churchill, and Edward Thompson, a surgeon with only three years' experience, were the most hostile witnesses with first-hand knowledge. Of them Robson, in answer to the question whether he had ever heard the Indians complain that they did not get a sufficient price for their goods, could merely reply that he was not admitted to talk with them except in the Fort. He did, however, give it as his opinion (but not as a fact) that if the Standard of Trade was more advantageous to the Indians a greater quantity of furs and pelts would be brought. Considering Robson's animosity it is remarkable that he could say no more on this point. William White early in his evidence gave his opinion that it would be for the advantage of the public if the traders would give a better price, 'as it would encourage the Natives to bring more Skins down'. But as the problem began to take point he first reiterated his opinion that if the Governor would advance the price even for the large furs it would encourage the Indians to bring down the smaller and finer furs which the French were reputed to intercept; then he thought that if the choice lay between sending men up country or raising the Standard of Trade, sending men up country would be more likely to bring in more furs. In the end he concluded 'That he believes the Indians would kill no more Beasts than what is sufficient to purchase Commodities for the Year, as he has seen them act in the same manner, with regard to Venison; and he does not know, whether, if they could have an advanced Price for their Goods, they would not bring down fewer Skins than they do at present'. Thompson's experience was of much shorter duration, and he had been less concerned with trade than had White. His evidence was largely concerned with the need to explore, both in a search for a Passage and in penetrat-

A Cree Indian family who traded at Cumberland House, 1820, by Lieutenant Hood, R.N.

ing up the rivers, and while he spoke of the Double Standard and of ill treatment of Indians he ventured no opinion on the results of a raising of the standard although he seemed convinced that posts established inland would increase the volume of trade.

The only apposite statement from these three hostile witnesses, was, therefore, that of White—that he thought it quite probable the Indians would bring down less skins, instead of more, if they were given a better price. The anomaly required explanation. It was difficult to accept that there were trading Indians, not mere hunters but people who for two or three generations had been in the habit of trading with Europeans and who exercised that function within their non-European society, who reacted in this way. It was nothing to the point for some of the witnesses, such as Robert Pilgrim, to say that the company had got as much trade as it needed and wanted no more. That was another question, whether the extension of the trade was desirable or not. On the parallel issue, whether an increase in prices would bring more furs to market, if such an increase should be desired, the not unfriendly Alexander Browne, six years a surgeon at Churchill, was convinced that the company gave better prices than the French but yet thought that 'if they allowed them a better Price, they would certainly bring down more'. But against this stood a solid weight of opinion which emphasized White's doubts. James Isham, the most experienced trader available, an acute observer with a speculative turn of mind, and by no means uncritical of the company, was forthright: 'The giving Indians a larger Price would occasion the Decrease of Trade'. Captain Spurrell was equally emphatic: 'Would not the Natives kill more game, if more Goods were sent to them for their Fur?' 'They might, but they're too lazy to take any Extraordinary pains, suppose they have their Bellyful.' 'Suppose there were two Markets would not the Indians raise the Price of their Furs?' 'Yes.' 'Would they kill more?' 'No, less.'

As the evidence accumulated (not all of it printed in the official Report) there was no escaping the conclusion that in trade with Indians the price mechanism did not work. They were hardened enough traders to exploit



H B C COLLECTION

The Chipewyan woman who travelled with William Stuart to make peace between her people and the Cree and open the fur trade to the western tribes in 1715.

competition and an alternative market, but un-European in their reaction to better prices. Struggling to show that even this was a condition which an open trade would remedy, John Hardman, merchant of Liverpool, put forward a thesis which went to the root of the matter—and expressed it in eighteenth-century English terms. The root problem was to inculcate a notion of *Property*. Being asked,

> Whether the Indians would be prevailed upon to kill more Beasts than to purchase Necessaries for themselves for a Year? he said, He did not doubt but that they would, in order to dispose of them to their Neighbours; that at present perhaps, if they were to kill Furs enough to supply them with Necessaries for Two Years, they would not come down to trade; but if they were once made sensible of the Conveniency of having some Property, they would then desire to carry on a Trade, and supply their Neighbours; for that the Witness did not apprehend that all the Indian Nation came down to trade; that this Notion of Property would increase; though it would not increase their real Necessities, yet it would furnish them with imaginary Wants. [The Indian's] Necessities and Desires would increase in proportion to his Property.

This is the thesis of the English manufacturer seeking a market for his goods; the 'cheap tin trays' approach to underdeveloped peoples, in which imaginary wants eventually provide a market. The trouble with the Indian in trade (from the point of view of a Liverpool merchant in search of a market) was that he knew what he wanted. His 'Necessities and Desires' were well defined and could not be re-phrased; they certainly had not yet been re-phrased in the course of three generations of continuous trade. The Hudson's Bay Company were perhaps not the most vigorous and imaginative experimentalists in their Indian trade. They relied on their traders to tell them what commodities the Indians wanted, and confined most of their shipments outwards to items which were known to be acceptable. Occasionally they made experiments with jointed dolls, Nuremburgh toys, raisins and prunes (which proved very popular but which the Indians only accepted as presents, not in trade). Such experiments were almost all complete failures. The one great success was to introduce the English-made blanket. That soon became a traditional article in the trade, and it was tradition which marked the Indian trade and limited the number of articles which were acceptable. To such an extent was the fear of innovation carried that when the Dutch colonies were captured, and the English controlled the Hudson River and its access to furs, even the Navigation Acts were laid on one side and the colonists were granted the right to continue trading to Holland because the Indians had grown so accustomed to Dutch goods that it was to be feared they would cease to trade altogether rather than accept English-made goods.

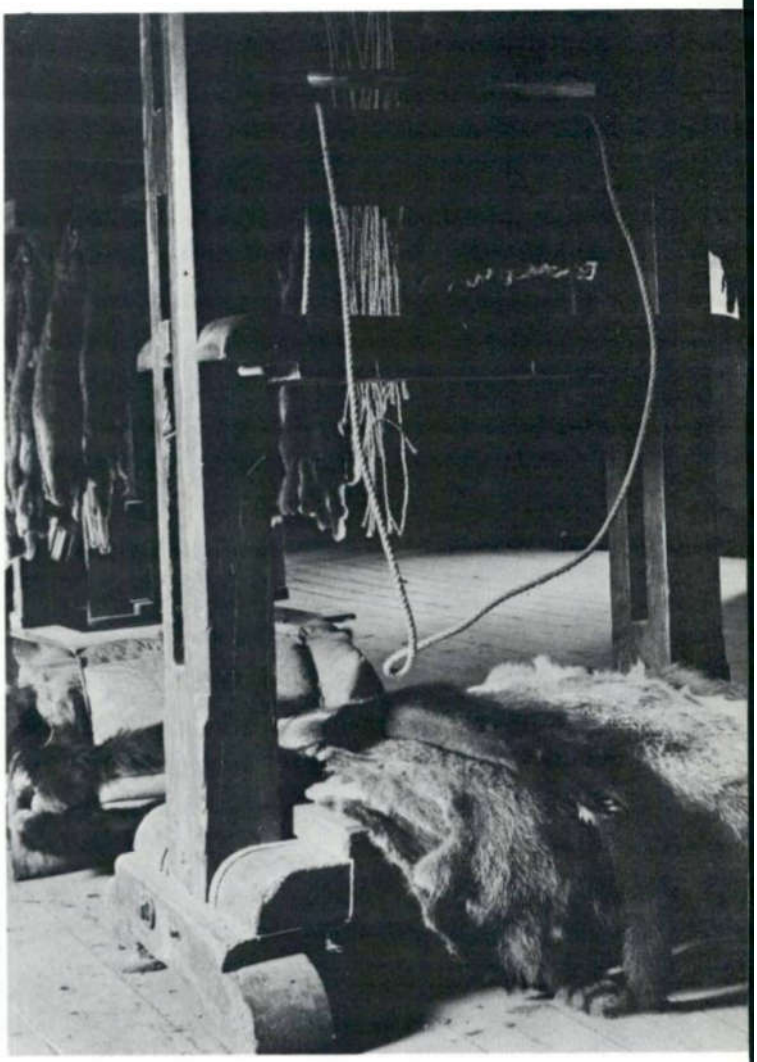
The Indian would not be tempted into indulging 'imaginary wants'. English merchants were convinced that this was possible, and almost inevitable. Fur traders knew better. The Indians were under no compulsion; they were a free people who were not to be coerced and, said Henry Spurling, fur merchant and shareholder of the Company with a life-time's experience behind him, 'they won't make a Toil of a Pleasure for any Consideration'. There was only one commodity of which they wanted unlimited quantities, spirits. And even of spirits they wanted no more than for their immediate gratification. There may be instances, but in all the fur-trade documents which I have so far studied I have never yet come across a single instance in which an Indian made any attempt to acquire a stock of spirits, either for trade or for future use. The whole literature of the fur trade would emphasize that the Indian was most unlikely ever to have brought himself to deal in spirits in such a way; but to emphasize the point that to the Indian a 'Property' in the European sense of the word was an alien notion it is perhaps worth while to make it clear that he did not attempt to establish a 'Property' even in that one commodity for which he had an apparently insatiable demand.

Here the trade in spirits needs to be brought into perspective, for when the documents are read in order to establish whether the Indian would react to the price mechanism as a stimulus to production it becomes clear that even where spirits were involved nothing like the European equation could be established. There was no

question of setting a *quantity* of spirits against a *quantity* of furs. Always there persisted something of the idea of gift exchange, and always there persisted something of a ceremonial and social intercourse, in the trade between Whites and Indians: and spirits had their place in both contexts. It was the presence of spirits, and the giving of spirits rather than the trading of spirits, which brought the Indian down to trade. The quantity given varied according to the circumstances, not in any strict relation to the number of furs. In its nineteenth-century arguments with the British government the Hudson's Bay Company always drew a distinction between giving spirits to Indians and trading spirits for furs. Though the distinction was lost on the British government, and was largely meaningless from their point of view, it was still at that date a real distinction from the point of view of the fur trader; for it meant that in the one commodity for which there was limitless demand, the incentive which that demand might be presumed to harness to production was not in fact so applied. The distinction was early appreciated. From Albany in the period of French rivalry in the early eighteenth century came the report that the French did not actually trade brandy. They gave it away in a *régal* and then proceeded to trade. It was the knowledge that brandy was available and would be distributed which took the Indian to one trader or the other. He did not take many skins in order to get more brandy, and he certainly would not have brought more in future years because he knew that the quantity for each skin would be increased. Brandy was a strong incentive to trade, but it was not in any way quantitative in its operation—except perhaps in the disastrous short-term results on the Indians.

As the Hudson's Bay Company men insisted that they could get more done for a quart of brandy than for ten pounds' worth of trade goods, and as the North Westers in the climax of their rivalry shipped ever increasing quantities into the Indian country, it still emerges that the spirits were not 'traded' according to European notions and that the quantity given was not in relation to the goods received. This is not to deny that on many occasions the spirits were given in direct exchange for goods, especially in exchange for provisions or for canoes, but merely to deny that the *price* of liquor was an incentive to extra endeavour. The problem was to leave satisfied customers on both sides rather than to set a price in terms of commodities. So although the Indian would not come to the hand-out without bringing furs or provisions, the incentive to hunt was an indirect one. As for the question whether spirits acted as a stimulus to *more vigorous* hunting in proportion as they were more or less generously supplied, the only possible conclusion is that this was not so. Spirits would draw such trade as there was in one direction or the other, and would ensure that the Indian had (so to speak) the price of admission, but no more.

As the Hudson's Bay Company pushed its posts up the Saskatchewan in the last quarter of the eighteenth century in rivalry with the North Westers it met the full impact of the spirits 'trade'. The Indians, again and again, 'will not Trade out without Liquor'. They kept their young men in touch with the posts so as to have information on this subject; when they heard that all the liquor was gone they could not be brought in to trade, and when they found supplies in both companies' posts they went from one post to the other in a shameless manner, and could hardly be brought to trade at all. These were extreme conditions, in which competition between the Canadian traders, as well as between them and the Hudson's Bay Company, was driving the Indians 'into a state of Debauch and Indolence', and in which the Europeans' dependence on the Indians for provisions was fully exploited. William Tomison was 'positive that Indians will never trouble themselves with any Laborious duty when they can live without it', and



CHRIS GRANT, NTHS

Fur press in reconstructed trading store, Lower Fort Garry.

if ever there was a time at which bidding up prices in terms of spirits should have been evident this was it. But spirits were used in quite a different way.

The basic principle, of enticement rather than of stimulus to effort by high prices, was explained at the 1749 enquiry by Matthew Sergeant. He spoke 'the Indian Language' (presumably Cree), and he had seen the number of Indians who came to trade greatly increased by the gift of a suit of clothes to each chief who brought down a band. His view was that 'if they would give to every Indian Leader a Gallon of Brandy, and for every Indian of the Nation of the *Poets* a Gallon and a Half' it would bring them down to trade and consequently enlarge the trade. The gift-function of spirits, thus recognized, remained its predominant function notwithstanding the fact that on occasion spirits were undoubtedly traded.

In the nineteenth century settlement and more rapid transportation increased the number of Indians who had become quasi-employees of white men. They revealed a completely European reaction to prices, but since during that period the fur trade was a monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Company in a way which had never previously been achieved, and for a vast part of the territory of Rupert's Land the aim was to conserve furs by a rigid quota system rather than to encourage trapping by high prices, it is difficult to say when, or why, or even if, the reaction of the hunting Indians to the stimulus of prices changed. The Iroquois who had become professional fur hunters and who composed a large section of the hunting parties in the Snake Country seem to show little change and to be content to work to a set tariff; and where real competition with Americans or Russians was met during this period it was still by the old incentives of spirits and guns that the Indians were attracted.

It is of course true that in their reaction to the price mechanism the Indians were not unique. Other examples from non-European peoples could easily be found, and even in Europe the theory did not always fit the facts; there were elements in European society, from priests to artisans, who were content with their status and with the satisfaction of their necessities. The difference of the Indians from such elements in European society was that the Indians under discussion were by profession traders. They were 'a free people and will go where they find best usage', they knew how to exploit competition, they took goods to the interior 'for their own Consumption and use, and to dispose of amongst the other Natives there'—and from mediaeval times it had been accepted that the function of the trader was to buy cheap and to sell dear.

Some twenty-five years after the 1749 Report had brought the question to the attention of Parliament (and had left the Parliamentary Committee convinced that the fur traders were right in their views), Andrew Graham gave his views. Graham was unequalled among the Bay-Governors of the eighteenth century as a writer of closely reasoned memoranda in which accurate observation was mingled with shrewd reasoning. Whether his conclusions, either in his official volume of 'Observations' or scattered through his voluminous correspondence and journals, were entirely original does not matter; in fact his views should receive even greater weight if they represent a consensus of opinions. His view, as late as 1775, was that the Indian would always only trade what he needed. This was an epitome of a more reasoned and analytical statement. Graham reckoned that the Indian annually could get hold of between seventy and a hundred made-beaver in furs without effort. For seventy made-beaver he could fully satisfy all the wants which he would anticipate before he next came down to trade, and the other thirty for waste and dissipation were all that he had time to spend before he had to leave the plantation and begin his journey inland again. So any consistent increase in the quantity of furs, which would entail a change in the Indians' habits or ideas, was bound to come up against the fact that he could satisfy his wants without effort, and that any extra rewards would be valueless to him.

In itself, as a passing phenomenon, there would have been nothing very peculiar in this attitude of the North American Indian. The peculiarity lay in the way in which the attitude persisted, and in the way in which it persisted despite continuous and active trade, and despite the emergence of professional traders. In those conditions the attitude was peculiar and interesting in itself, and it also set the mould within which the fur trade had to be conducted until the Indian found the Eskimo, with a much more active sense of property, alongside him as a primary hunter. It was the Indian's lack of a sense of property (as the word was used by Europeans) which made the fur trade the only branch of commerce which needed some other control and some other incentive than the European controls and incentives which arose from a sense of property. This was the reality which explained the perpetuation of monopoly in an age to which the very word was anathema. The deviation from established principles tried statesmen hard, but the reality was accepted and the need to deviate was even enshrined in the gospel of freedom of trade itself, the *Wealth of Nations*. For this was the reality which compelled Adam Smith to admit the merits of the Hudson's Bay Company despite the way in which it ran counter to all his generalizations. The Company, with its limited capital and restricted interests, could 'engross the whole, or almost the whole trade and surplus produce of the miserable though extensive country comprehended within their charter'. The trade of Rupert's Land, in fact, was not capable of expansion by the normal incentives, which Smith accepted for all other trades. Smith ascribed this largely to the barren territory; but within the limits of the fur trade, which soil and climate made appropriate to that territory, the habits of the Indians, and their lack of a sense of property, forbade expansion on normal lines even in the production of furs. ◆

EDIBLE NORTHERN PLANTS

Photos by Clarence Massey

Text by Bradford Angier

THE BLUEBERRY GENUS, like numerous members of the heath family, thrives in acid soil, and I've seen thousands of acres of new bushes, heavy with berries, spreading over fire-blackened lands in the Maritimes. Although botanists differ, some thirty-five different members of this species, from low shrubs to high bushes, grow throughout Canada and the United States, mostly in open woods and clearings. None is poisonous. Related are whortleberries and bilberries.

Blueberries commonly grow so thick that you can often gather them by the bushel, stripping them indiscriminately in large handfuls or shaking them onto spread sheets. One way to clean them is to drop them, a few at a time, from the pails onto a slanted Point Blanket, tightly stretched a few feet below. Let the ripe blueberries roll into a large wide basin set just below the lower edge of the blanket. Most of the harder green berries will bounce free. The leaves and twigs will remain on the blanket, which can be occasionally brushed clean. Finally, rolled around in water to remove a little more debris, the fruit will be ready to eat.

Bearberries, Cranberries, Blackberries and Labrador Tea

Labrador Tea

LABRADOR TEA, also known as Hudson's Bay tea across much of Northern Canada, is a pretty evergreen shrub whose robustly aromatic leaves make it one of the most famous teas of the north country. It is found growing densely in woods, muskegs, damp mountain meadows, and across the tundras of Alaska and Canada south to New England, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and the Great Lakes States where it is seen mainly in mountain bogs and swamps.

Available in winter as well as during the warm months, the spicy leaves of Labrador tea make a palatable and refreshing beverage. Although I seldom bother to measure exactly, about one teaspoon per cup, heaping or scant depending on the particular palate, will make a pleasant brew. Drop the leaves into bubbling water and immediately set this off the heat to steep for five minutes. Old sourdoughs have warned me that drunk in too large quantities this tea may have a cathartic effect. But, using it sparingly over the years, I have never experienced any ill effects. As a matter of fact, I often find it both refreshing and thirst-quenching to chew on a few leaves while hunting or getting in wood.

Naturalist Bradford Angier is author of 'How to Stay Alive in the Woods', 'How to go Live in the Woods on $10 a Week' and other volumes of nature lore.

WILD CRANBERRIES, regarded by many as the most important berry of the north country, grow from Newfoundland to Alaska. Three species of this prime bear food liven bogs, marshes, rocky or peaty acid soil, and open coniferous woods across the continent where they are also known as lingenberries, lowbush cranberries, cow berries, rock cranberries, lengon, swamp cranberries and partridgeberries. The crowberries and bearberries in the picture are likewise edible but scarcely in the same class.

Although they cling to the vines all winter and when kept fresh by snow are available many months as an emergency food, cranberries are at their best after the first mellowing frost. Many Canadians then pick them by the bushel, often using homemade tooth-edged scoops and cleaning the fruit on slanted blankets, as previously described with blueberries. The preserving acidness of the firm fruit has long been one of the cranberry's most valuable characteristics on this continent, dating from the days when early Massachusetts settlers successfully shipped ten barrels of them across the Atlantic to King Charles II.

STRAWBERRY SPINACH, also known as Indian strawberry and as strawberry blite, is similar to its close cousin, lamb's quarters, which many term the tastiest green in Canada. The major difference lies in the bright red masses of pulpy fruits which, many a time when I've been moose hunting in the early fall, have stained my boots like dye, making this edible easily recognizable. It is common across Canada and Alaska, and the northwestern states.

The inconspicuous little flowers, growing in angles between the leaves and the upper portions of the stem as well as in spikes at the top of the stem, become dense red masses, with the softness and colour of strawberries. They are very nutritious, both raw and cooked. The young stems and leaves, and later the young tender leaves by themselves, may be enjoyed raw in salads or cooked like spinach which they considerably excel in taste, at the same time providing nutritious amounts of Vitamins A and C.

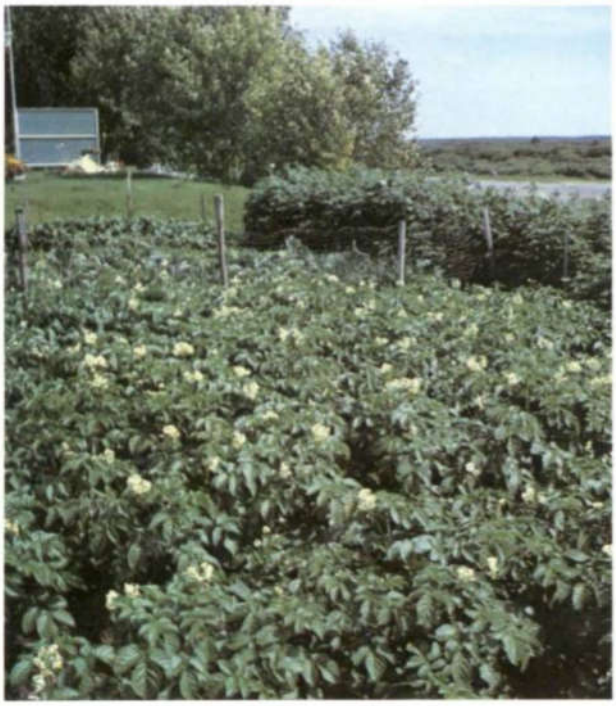
Strawberry Spinach

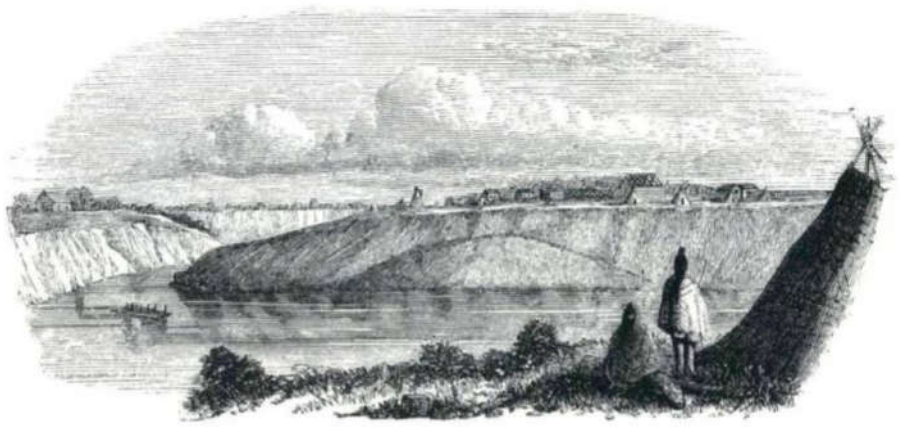
Views of the garden planted by Mr and Mrs J. J. Wood at Moose Factory.

'I SOWED GARDEN SEEDS'

by Douglas Leechman

Dr Leechman, author and lexicographer, was formerly anthropologist at the National Museum of Canada.





Pembina, from a sketch by John Fleming, 1857.

PEMBINA RIVER POST—30th April 1804. Indians having asked for liquor, and promised to decamp and hunt well all summer, I gave them some. Grande Gueule Stabbed Capot Rouge, Le Boeuf stabbed his young wife in the arm, Little Shell almost beat his old mother's brains out with a club, and there was terrible fighting among them. I sowed garden seeds.

So wrote Alexander Henry the Younger in the post journal. Not that he was a specially eager beaver in gardening. It was a pursuit at most of the fur-trade posts from the very first, as we shall see.

THE BOTTOM OF THE BAY

It was the 9th of November 1668 when Rupert River, at the Bottom of the Bay, set fast with ice. This was in James Bay, the southern extremity of Hudson Bay. Friendly Indians had shown Captain Gillam a sheltered cove where his ship, the *Nonsuch*, might winter and he had taken his men ashore where they now busied themselves with two essential operations: building a house for themselves and excavating a cellar, twelve feet deep, for their store of beer. They had brought some hens and pigs with them and accommodation had to be arranged for them too.

As soon as the ground could be worked in the following spring, garden beds were prepared and vegetable seeds were sowed, a practice followed throughout the Hudson's Bay Company's long history despite many disappointments and difficulties.

There were several reasons for wanting to grow fresh garden produce, the prevention of scurvy being one of the most important, even though locally made spruce beer was just as effective and, they say, not unpalatable if made right. Urgent, too, was a reduction of the heavy expense of sending out enough food from England to last a large number of men a year at least. Again and again the Company's servants were urged to be diligent in their gardening and to raise what cattle and swine they could, goats too, and horses. One plan was to keep the pigs on Charlton Island in the hope that there they would be safe from wild beasts.

The south end of James Bay is far from being good land for gardens. Larch, spruce, and balsam; poplar, birch, and alder and a sour soil are here in plenty, but that is not the kind of terrain pigs and hens want; they prefer open forests of beech and oak, not to be found much less than five hundred miles to the south. However, the unfortunate beasts struggled along somehow or other and in following summers more garden seeds were sown and, eventually, the produce from them reaped and eaten, as were the hens and pigs for there were not enough volunteers to stay through one winter, keep the place running, and look after the livestock.

In 1681, the Committee in London sent to the Bottom of the Bay: '1 he Goate & 2 she goates & 1 Sow with Pigg wch. we have don in hopes they will increase in the Country & be of use & comfort to our people wch. is a thing that deserves your utmost care as well for the Good of the Factory as for the ease of the Compa. in the buisnesse of Provisions.'

Well, ease and comfort are fine, but there was trouble too. Towards the end of a long report to the Governor and Committee in London in 1682 John Nixon says: 'One thing more I must advertise yow that yor. Honours goats are dead, and that it is lost labour to trouble yr. selves to send either them or hogs for they destroy more provisions than they are worth.' Nevertheless, pigs and goats continued to arrive and a great variety of garden seeds, as well as prunes and raisins, to combat the dreaded scurvy. Turnips were a favourite as were peas; radishes, lettuce, mustard, spinach, cabbage, and colewort all did variably well depending on the weather and the industry of the gardeners. This work was assigned to men too sick for heavy duty if there were any such about the fort; otherwise it became a routine task for all hands. Grain could not be ripened, and often peas would form pods and then stop though left on the vine till snow fell.

Vegetable garden at York Factory, 1880.

The spruce beer interested the authorities in London and they asked, politely enough, for a bottle or two of 'that Juyce that you tap out of the trees which you mixt with your drink when any one is troubled with the Scurvy'. Meanwhile the Committee continued its efforts to make the people at least partially self-supporting. They pointed out that the latitude of the bottom of James Bay was the same as that of southern England and felt that hedges might be grown to fend off the north-west wind, a system successful in Norway and Sweden.

They sent out books of instruction in gardening, scythes, spades, and other garden tools and more seeds, adding onions and kidney beans to the list. Fresh efforts were made with wheat, barley, and oats. They might succeed and they might not; in any case, said the Committee: 'Lett the event be what it will lett it be done'. This might well have been used as the motto of this obscure post, one of Canada's earliest, but unrecognized, experimental farms.

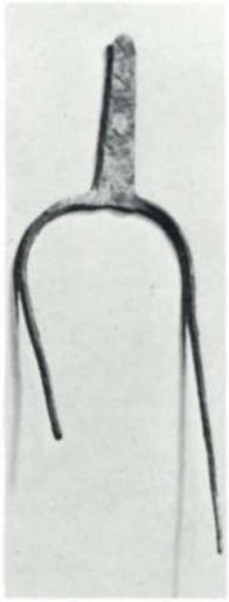
One enthusiast put in a requisition for twenty-four spades and twelve shovels. He got them all right, with a letter of mild surprise at the size of the order. 'Oh,' he wrote back, 'I do assure you it was no mistake for we had neither spade or shovel in the factory but what was broke in the handle, and they are not only useful for digging the garden but likewise for clearing the snow out of the yard all winter and other uses.'

Farther north, in 1731, Company men had already started on building the great stone fort, Prince of Wales. Shetland sheep and cows had been sent there and throve, but a horse that Richard Norton had brought to help in hauling stone did not do so well. Legend has it that the poor beast on being disembarked stumbled a little along the beach, stopped to survey that desolate landscape, and laid him down to die. In any event, he died as soon as he landed.

Cattle did well and increased rapidly in numbers which was all to the good, except for the fact that hay had to be made for them. At times this became a serious matter and the Moose Fort Journals for 1784 record the sad outcome of one man's best efforts; year after year he had refrained from killing any of his cattle for beef so that he might build up a strong herd, only to watch them starve to death for lack of the hay he had not been able to grow for them. Churchill, on the other hand, went the other way; one day they killed six pigs and four kids for a real bang-up dinner and on another occasion they killed the bull and ate him too. They explained to London that hay was short and were told that their excuse was an 'extream idle Plea'.

One crop has not yet been mentioned. In Churchill, in 1768, William Wales, a visiting astronomer, said that dandelions 'made most excellent sallad to our roast geese'. Certain it is that the dandelion does make good greens, and also that it is not native to North America, and one hears again the legend that it was deliberately introduced as a crop by the old Hudson's Bay men two hundred, nearly three hundred years ago.

There were still other troubles for the weary post keepers. In 1785, at Fort Albany, Edward Jarvis had



A pitchfork, unearthed at Fort Severn, and a hay-making scene at Rupert's House are reminders of the days when the H B C kept cattle on the shores of Hudson and James Bay.

just finished a letter to John Thomas, Chief at Moose Fort. As he signed his name, a thought struck him and he added a postscript. 'We are over run with mice and have a boar cat who can do nothing among them they are so very numerous, would be glad if you could spare a she Cat I would return her or a kitten or two.'

Way up at the north end of the Labrador Peninsula things were no easier but even there, years later, they tried gardens, but a lack of fertile soil produced a hopeless situation, it being impossible as one man pointed out 'to convert hard grey rocks into any horticultural purposes'. James McKenzie, who knew the Gulf Shore and the Labrador well, said 'one would need to have blood like brandy, the skin of brass and the eyes of glass, not to suffer from the rigours of a Labrador winter.'

It was not all bad. Things got better and better until in 1838 York Factory's officers' mess supplied the following. Breakfast was fried fish, except on Sundays when it was beefsteak, with both on Christmas Day. For the evening meal there was always soup, and a meat course which might be beef, partridge, pork, rabbit, venison, grouse, goose, or duck with potatoes; with cheese and tarts for dessert. Wines were served on Sunday only when they had port and madeira. On week days they drank porter or spruce beer.

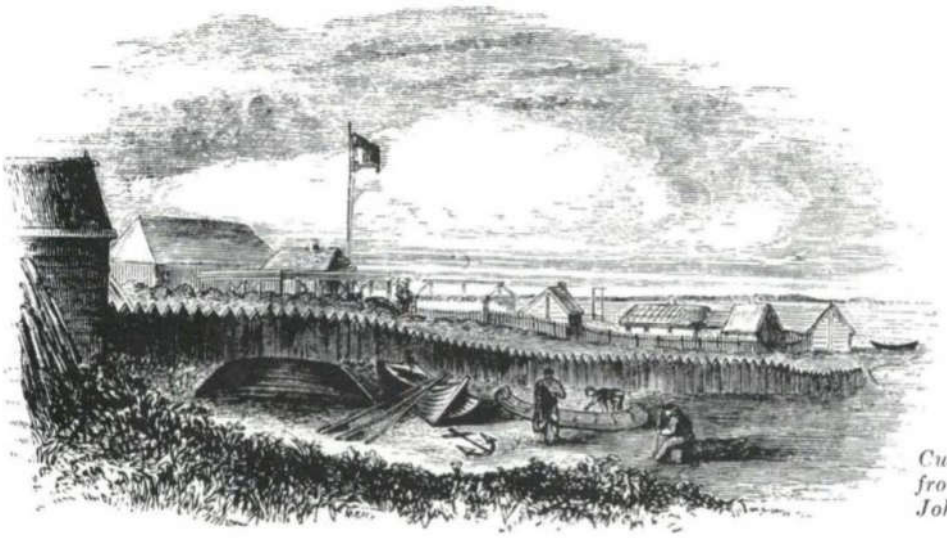
This was not the usual situation. In most posts the gardens made only an occasional contribution to the officers' table, and did little to lift the strain on imported provisions. Most meat was secured by the home-guard Indian hunters (except the domesticated animals) and the annual goose hunts and fisheries supplied a lot more. Salting and freezing were the only available methods of preservation, except desiccation, and many a post lived from hand to mouth for weeks on end.

THE PRAIRIE POSTS

About a hundred and fifty miles west of the north end of Lake Winnipeg lay Cumberland House. It was built on the Saskatchewan River by Samuel Hearne in 1774, the first H B C post erected in the program of penetration into the Interior. The building of this post was the opening skirmish, though not then recognized as such, in the bitter conflict between the H B C and the North West Company which was to last till 1821, when the two companies united.

Cumberland House lay in the northern coniferous forest, a region not noted for its suitability for agriculture, but gardening got under way very shortly after the post was founded. Matthew Cocking took over in 1775 and in the Journal for 25th October 1776 he notes: 'one Man clearing some Ground for Gardening in the Spring'. From then on there are several references to men clearing ground and performing other horticultural tasks but nowhere do we find any account of what success these efforts met with.

The North Westers seem to have had a greener thumb than did the H B C men which is not surprising when we remember that the North Westers came, in the main, from the valley of the St Lawrence and were familiar with farms and gardens.



Cumberland House, from a sketch by John Fleming, 1858.

Four hundred and fifty miles to the northwest of Cumberland House was another post, on the bank of the Athabasca, then known as the Elk River. Here Alexander Mackenzie arrived in 1787 and reported that Peter Pond 'had formed as fine a kitchen garden as ever I saw in Canada'. Turnips, carrots, and parsnips grew to a large size, especially the turnips. Potatoes did well, but cabbages failed for want of care.

Alexander Henry the Younger, one of the North Westers, found himself in more propitious circumstances. In 1801 he was in the Pembina River post, about sixty-five miles south of Winnipeg, and just across the North Dakota medicine line, the magical boundary between Canada and the States. Here he found a milder climate and a richer soil and gardening became a pleasure instead of a chore, at least by comparison. On the 27th of September 1801, he notes a hard frost which froze his cucumbers and melons; on the 6th of October he dug up one and a half bushels of potatoes and explains that the horses had destroyed his other vegetables. Two years later, however, he was almost jubilant. On October 17th he says 'I took my vegetables up—300 large heads of cabbage, 8 bushels of carrots, 16 bushels of onions, 10 bushels of turnips, some beets, parsnips, etc. *20th.* I took in my potatoes—420 bushels, the produce of 7 bushels, exclusive of the quantity we have roasted since our arrival, and what the Indians have stolen. I measured an onion, 22 inches in circumference; a carrot, 18 inches long, and, at the thick end, 14 inches in circumference; a turnip with its leaves weighed 25 pounds, and the leaves alone weighed 15 pounds. the common weight is from 9 to 12 pounds without the leaves.' It was only the next year, 1804, at this same post that the Indians got drunk, yet once again, and Henry took refuge in the peace of his garden and sowed seeds. He seems to have been keen on cucumbers too, and made a nine-gallon keg of pickles, using vinegar from the Manitoba maple sap, which runs less sugar in the sap than does the sugar maple. This year he did well with his potatoes too, having planted 21 bushels and reaped a thousand, 'exclusive of what have been eaten and destroyed since my arrival'.

If some of the pawky Scots factors had looked on the post gardens with a jaundiced eye, it was George Simpson who put fire crackers under their kilts. He was appalled at the cost of provisions brought from England clear across the Atlantic, and from Hudson Bay across the prairies and he was confident that a good deal of food could be grown at the posts. When he was at Fort Wedderburn in 1821 he was horrified to discover that the Indians were being supported largely by the H B C on imported foods and that they were doing mighty little on their

Early Rose potatoes, a variety shipped through the Bay, perhaps a century ago.

JOHN MACPIE

part in the way of bringing in furs. 'It has occurred to me,' he said, 'that Philanthropy is not the exclusive object of our visits to these Northern Regions, but that to it are coupled interested motives, and that Beaver is the grand bone of contention'.

There were times of destitution and even of actual starvation in some of the prairie posts. In 1855, Peter S. Ogden's son visited the Peace River forts in search of leather. 'The district was in a starving state,' he reported, 'people being obliged to eat dogs and horses which had died from bad treatment. . . . When I reached Dunvegan there was not an ounce of provisions in the fort, and my men were obliged to go to bed supperless. Our sinews for the district were all eaten by the Dunvegan men previous to my reaching there.'

Simpson felt, too, that more horses could be used, in such works, for instance, as improving portages and carrying freight and so he proposed to raise more of them on the spot. He wrote to Francis Heron at Edmonton requesting him to procure twenty breeding mares and ten entire horses as early as possible. A restrained footnote points out that 'the proportion of stallions to brood mares is absurd, judging by ordinary standards'. No comment from the entire horses.

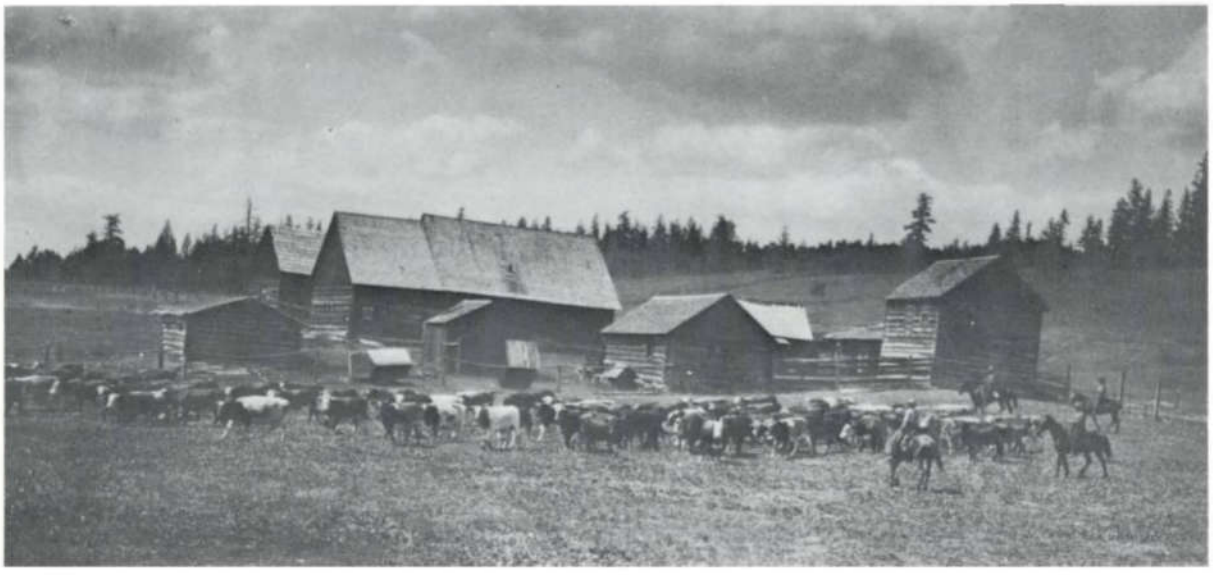
Wherever he went, Simpson sized up the agricultural possibilities and urged the men at the various posts to take advantage of the opportunities that presented themselves. It all sounded fine but there were very real difficulties to be met. No matter how you fenced your garden the deer got in and ate everything before it was even near maturity, and then the Indians came along, camped just outside the post and used your fence rails for firewood, perfectly innocently and with no thought of doing wrong. What is wood for but to be burnt?

NEW CALEDONIA

It took the traders but a single generation to cross the prairies and the mountains. Fort McLeod (now McLeod Lake, B.C.) was opened in 1805, and the surge westwards did not stop there, for Stuart's Lake (later Fort St James) came in 1806 and half a dozen other posts followed in quick succession. New Caledonia, as the district west of the Rockies came to be called, was a new and rich area in the fur lands. By and large the fur-bearers are forest animals and New Caledonia finds itself in the sub-alpine forest zone, an excellent habitat for them but not for kitchen gardens. Except for patches along the banks of rivers and lakes, there is little fertile soil; the winters are long and very cold, the summers too short to ripen any but the earliest vegetables. Nevertheless, gardens were established at every post and with a surprising degree of success.

Much of this success was due to the enthusiastic encouragement of such men as Peter Skene Ogden who fully agreed with Governor George Simpson that the posts could be made much more nearly self-sustaining than they had been, and never failed to observe and comment on the success the various post masters had encountered. John Tod had charge of Fort McLeod in 1824 and had this to say about his gardens: 'Poor success, I may add here, attended my farming experiment at Fort McLeod, which is in about 55 degrees north latitude, and close to the Rocky Mountains. At Stuart's Lake, about 100 miles south, and more westerly, potatoes ripened on the slopes, but in the hollows, or near the lake, were liable to frost bite. In the same direction, and about 40 miles more southerly, near latitude 45 degrees, at Fraser's Lake, some barley and potatoes grow for use. I saw patches of wheat that promised to ripen at Fort

Cattle at Fort St. James. ARCHIVES OF B.C.



McLeod's Lake, 1906. ARCHIVES OF B.C.

George, 80 or 90 miles to the east of Fraser Lake, and in the above named latitude. These results of small experiments in New Caledonia indicate that the ordinary cereals and vegetables might be produced by skilful and careful agriculture'.

George Simpson, the Governor, was not well impressed. 'The Soil,' he wrote, 'is by no means exuberant, being generally of an indifferent Mould of about 8 inches from its surface—a bed of gravel and sand succeeding alternately. Esculent vegetables, notwithstanding every precaution to preserve and bring them to perfection have nearly altogether failed—and the last crop of Potatoes did not yield the produce of one fourth of the Seed put in the ground.'

In Fort Alexandria, a hundred and thirty miles due south of McLeod Lake and in the warm and sunny Dry Belt, things were a bit better. This fort was built by the North Westers in 1821, a few weeks after the union of the two Companies, an event of which they were blissfully ignorant till somewhat later. Here, at last, was a place in the interior of British Columbia where wheat could be grown. Between 1843 and 1848 from 400 to 500 bushels of wheat were ground into flour, using horsepower to turn the eighteen-inch mill stones.

George Simpson, but little affected by the woes of others, admitted when he visited New Caledonia in 1828 that: 'In regard to the means of living, McLeods Lake is the most wretched place in the Indian Country; it possesses few or no resources within itself, depending almost entirely on a few dried Salmon taken across from Stuarts Lake, and when the Fishery there fails, or when any thing else occurs to prevent this supply being furnished, the situation of the Post is cheerless indeed. Its complement of people, is a Clerk and two Men whom we found starving, having had nothing to eat for several Weeks but Berries, and whose countenances were so pale and emaciated that it was with difficulty I recognised them'.

Full of sympathy, but unable to do much about it, he continued his travels to Fort St James where he found that 'a few White Fish in the Winter with an occasional treat of Berry Cake prepared by the Natives, and a Dog Feast on high days and holydays constitute the living of nearly all the Posts in New Caledonia; and altho' bad, as to quality, would not afford grounds for complaint, if the quantity was sufficient to satisfy the cravings of Nature; but the people are frequently reduced to half allowance, to quarter allowance, and sometimes to no allowance at all'. The dogs were purchased from the Indians, who did not eat them though the men at the forts relished them.

Continuous effort, often frustrated by the poorest of rewards, eventually brought about some improvement. In 1833, John McLean arrived at Stuart's Lake. He commented on the menu as 'scarcely fit for dogs' and then goes on to say that 'a few cattle were introduced in 1830, and we now begin to derive some benefit from the produce of our dairy. Our gardens (a term applied in this country to any piece of ground under cultivation) in former times yielded potatoes; nothing would grow now save turnips. A few carrots and cabbages were this

Fort Langley, 1894. ARCHIVES OF B.C.

year raised on a new piece of ground, which added to the luxuries of our table'.

That was just another of the frustrations; the soil was poor, its minerals quickly exhausted and no fertilizer to be had. A few crops could be harvested and then new land had to be broken, and there was precious little of it. Altogether the posts at the east end of the great belt of northern forests, around the Bottom of the Bay, and those near the west end, in New Caledonia, were about the poorest possible bets as regions suitable for gardens or larger agricultural operations.

THE PACIFIC COAST

All the posts we have discussed so far, those at the Bottom of the Bay, the Prairies, and New Caledonia, were (with the exception of some of the more southerly prairie posts) in the North Woods, the habitat preferred by most of the fur-bearers. These posts obtained much of their supplies through Hudson Bay after hundreds, sometimes thousands, of miles of river transport, hard on men and hard on the expense account, and they followed the customs and procedures laid down in the Company's early formative years. There was a traditional way of doing everything laid down in the Standing Rules & Regulations and changes came slowly indeed, usually in the face of determined opposition.

Back in the Old Country there had been changes. Steam-driven machinery had brought about the Industrial Revolution and altered the whole pattern of industry and, indeed, of thought. It was during this period that the establishment of agricultural posts on the Pacific coast and the scheme to locate people in the Red River Settlement, where Winnipeg stands today, were undertaken. Fort Vancouver and the other farms, satellite to it, experienced the transition from the old ways to the new, barely perceptible at first but becoming more and more obvious as American settlers drove their covered wagons into the Oregon Country.

It was the cross-country expedition of Lewis and Clark that convinced John Jacob Astor that there was fur to be trapped and money to be made on the Pacific Coast and in 1811 he founded Fort Astoria near the mouth of the Columbia River. Many difficulties confronted him, not the least of them caused by the War of 1812, and in 1813 he was glad to sell out to the North Westers, who continued operations until their union with the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821.

On the 8th of November three years later, Governor George Simpson visited Fort George, as Astoria had been renamed. To say that he was horrified is to put it mildly, even allowing for the fact that an assumption of horror was one of his familiar poses. True enough, the situation there was wild in many ways. The people were living on the most expensive imported European provisions in a country where agriculture was easy and rewarding; they had made little or no effort to extend their own activities in trapping, or those of the natives, and a blind adherence to tradition had filled the warehouses with completely useless and quite unsalable goods, including ostrich plumes, beloved of the Indians back east, and coats of mail, beloved of nobody.

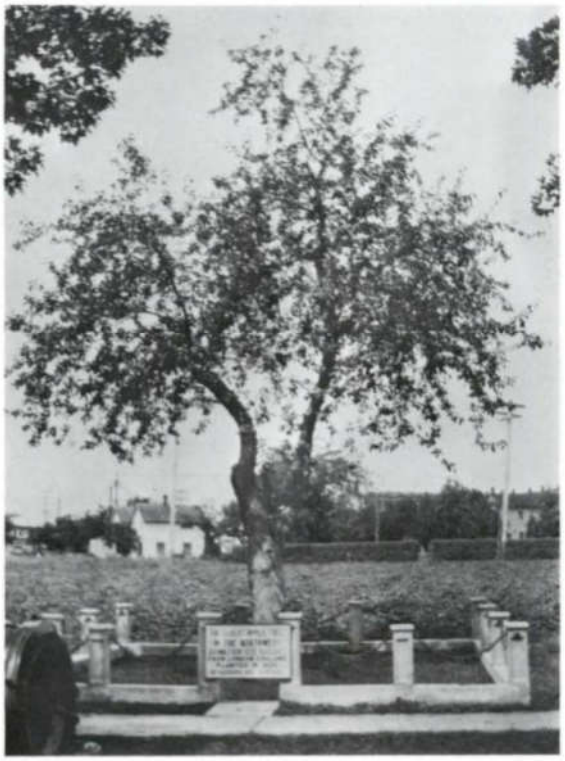
Never content with half measures, Simpson determined to move. The North Westers had complained that

Fort George was damp and that the furs were spoiled in consequence and the climate was not a healthy one for the men. They, too, had thought of a move, but never actually undertook it. Perhaps the most serious objection to the Fort George site in Simpson's eyes was the fact that there was not nearly enough room for the large agricultural enterprise he had in mind. At Fort George there was but little land suitable for the plough, most of the rest of it being rocky and uneven, and there were stands of heavy timber that would have to be cleared if farming operations were to expand. And, worst of all perhaps, it was on the south side of the river and might well find itself in United States territory if the Columbia River should be chosen as part of the international boundary.

A few days after his arrival in November, Simpson sent a party upstream to look for a better site. The first attempt, in a leaky boat, got nowhere; the next was more successful, but they found nothing suitable till they had passed the mouth of the Willamette and were some hundred miles from the coast. Here they found a flat stretch overlooking the river; it had been named La Jolie Prairie and terminated in a look-out which Lieutenant Broughton had named Belle Vue Point as early as 1792. Here were extensive bench lands high enough above the river to avoid flooding and wide enough to provide all the acreage they could ever need. Moreover the benches needed little clearing before being laid under the plough. So, late in 1824, a work party set out to build the new fort and, by the spring of 1825, they had a living house for the gentlemen, two storehouses, an Indian room, and temporary quarters for the men ready for use.

From its beginning to its end in 1860 the new post, 'baptised' Fort Vancouver by George Simpson on 19 March 1825, had a success that is hard to overestimate. It was many years before any other farm in the Oregon Country could compare with it; in fact, it is quite possible that its performance never has been equalled for returns from such an establishment. In the course of time, satellite farms were established and they too repaid many times over the work expended on them. The importation of provisions from England for the far west was brought to an end. Meat, grain, fruit, and vegetables were grown in abundance, and foodstuffs were exported to Russian America, to California, and to Hawaii. Simpson had been proved abundantly right, and he never let them forget it. Water power on Mill Creek, six miles up the river, was harnessed for saw mills and grist mills, a school was established, a hospital, and a chapel. Fort Vancouver was the biggest and most important place in the Oregon Country. As headquarters of the Columbia District its influence extended from San Francisco Bay to New Caledonia and Hawaii.

The driving force behind the Columbia District as a whole and its nucleus, Fort Vancouver, was Dr John McLoughlin of Rivière-du-Loup. He had been apprenticed to a physician in Quebec when he was about fourteen



An apple tree said to be planted in 1826 by Dr John McLoughlin at Fort Vancouver from seeds brought from England by AEmilius Simpson.

and five years later got his licence to practice medicine, surgery, and pharmacy. He joined the North West Company in 1803 and, after the Union, became a Chief Factor and was assigned to the Columbia District in 1824. So much has already been written of this extraordinary man that it is surely not necessary to enter into further details. Not only had he established the first school, but also the first circulating library, the first theatre, and one of the first churches. Here at Fort Vancouver one could buy supplies and here, too, settlers could be advised in their choice of land and, later, sell their produce. It is difficult to believe that such an establishment could have so short a life, from 1825 to 1860. About 1865 a visitor to the site found no sign of it but a pile of mouldering hay.

Two names are associated with McLoughlin's: James (later Sir James) Douglas and James Murray Yale, both to achieve fame as the pioneers of agriculture and settlement in what is now British Columbia. Yale, well-regarded by Simpson, was eventually put in charge of Fort Langley on the south bank of the Fraser River, some eighteen miles east of the present city of New Westminster. Here Yale established a farm that at one time rivalled and indeed surpassed Fort Vancouver, for as that fort declined, Fort Langley was still in the ascendant.

Yale's attitude towards McLoughlin was one of devotion, almost of hero-worship. He had spent months at Fort Vancouver nursing a wounded hand and had had

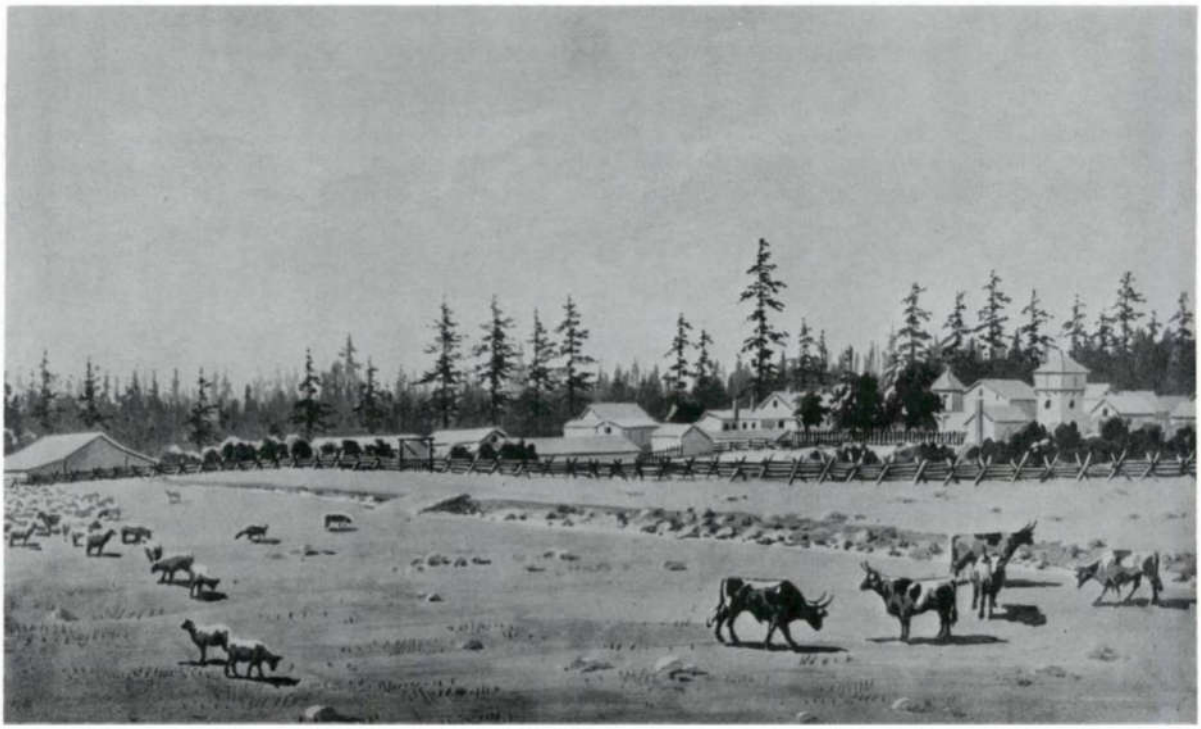
Fort Vancouver 1845, from a drawing by Lieutenant H. J. Warre.

the opportunity of observing all that went on. When he was given Fort Langley he was able to put to practical use all that he had learnt. Indeed, he went further and embarked on enterprises that had not been attempted on the Columbia. He shipped $10,000 worth of cranberries from the nearby bogs in one season, shipped salt salmon down the coast and over to Hawaii, grew hemp which he exported to England, sold barrels made by his cooper for the salmon and cranberries, made brooms, axehandles, toboggans, horse collars. He grew thousands of bushels of wheat which he ground into flour in his own mill, shipped many thousands of board feet of lumber abroad, grew foodstuffs for Russian America, and, with all this, supervised the activities of his many employees and Indian traders. Then, too, he had unfriendly Indians to contend with. On one occasion, an Indian got clear away after murdering a man near the Fort. Months later Yale was told that this same Indian was coming down the river in a canoe with some others. Yale, calm and quiet, took his rifle, went down to the waterfront, shot the murderer through the head as the canoe went by, returned to the Big House, hung up his rifle without a word, and went on about his business.

Yale left Fort Langley in 1859 after thirty-one years there, twenty-five of them in charge, during which time he introduced agriculture to the southwestern mainland of British Columbia with the greatest success. The farm continued its operations on a much reduced scale until June 1896 and was eventually subdivided and sold. Yale's list of 'firsts' is long indeed and the year's furlough he was granted was well deserved.

As early as 1832 Dr McLoughlin had thought of forming an independent company to handle agricultural affairs in the Oregon Country. There had been complaints that fur should be the sole concern of a fur-trading company, though Simpson had stated his opinion that anything that made money for the Company was worth pursuing. In 1839, when the Company signed an agreement with the Russian American Company to supply them with foodstuffs, the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company was formed, legally quite separate from the Hudson's Bay Company but actually a subsidiary with control firmly in the hands of the Governor and Committee. Dr William Fraser Tolmie was put in charge with headquarters at Fort Nisqually under the supervision of Dr McLoughlin. There was plenty to do. Nisqually and Cowlitz farms were large and productive and others were added as time went on. Fort Langley was not included, as Yale was obviously more than capable of looking after that.

In the Victoria area on Vancouver Island, four farms were established under the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company: Macaulay Point, 1849; Langford, 1851; Viewfield and Craigflower, 1853. Only Craigflower Manor still stands to remind us of those days when thousands of sheep grazed in the pastures about Victoria, including today's fashionable Uplands.



Fort Nisqually. ARCHIVES OF B.C.

The adoption of the 49th parallel as the United States-Canada Boundary put Fort Vancouver definitely far below. Headquarters of the western department was transferred to Fort Victoria in 1849 and it became necessary gradually to close Fort Vancouver. All the equipment for the mills, all the workshop tools, all the goods in the warehouses, everything movable was loaded on board the steamer *Otter*, and transported to Victoria. It took three trips in all. On the 14th of June 1860 the last piece of freight was loaded, the officer in charge, Chief Trader Grahame, turned over a large bunch of keys to the U.S. authorities, and in half an hour he sailed away, ending a highly successful and important venture in agriculture.

Though the Fort was abandoned, the Company still claimed its lands in the Oregon Country, and presented the U.S. government with a bill for a million dollars; they did not expect to get it, for Governor Simpson had been tipped off that if he could get $300,000 he was to close the deal. Eventually he got $450,000 for the Hudson's Bay Company's interests and $200,000 for the claims of the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company—in gold!

RED RIVER SETTLEMENT

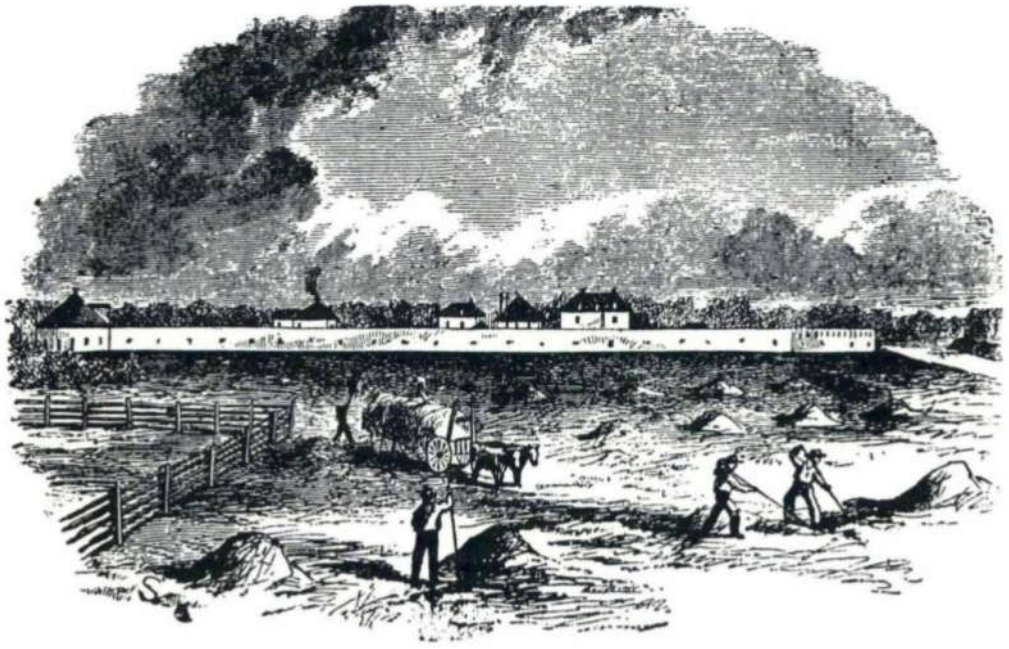
While the Oregon Country was seeing this most successful experiment in agriculture, a similar venture, but far less successful was being carried out on the eastern prairies where the Red River is joined by the Assiniboine, the present site of Winnipeg.

It was Thomas Douglas, fifth Earl of Selkirk, who was the moving spirit behind an attempt to form here a settlement of dispossessed Scottish crofters who had been turned off the lands they had occupied for centuries as a result of changes in the legislation governing rents and land management.

The soil of the Red River Settlement was certainly suitable for agriculture though perhaps not so rich as that of Fort Vancouver; the climate was decidedly less hospitable, and the settlers were plagued by weeds, grasshoppers (which did enormous damage), floods (also most destructive), ravaging flocks of birds and, above all, inexperience and a lack of competent leadership.

Though the grant of land extended over 116,000 square miles, the actual settlement was confined to the west bank of the Red River. The arable land was divided into lots an eighth of a mile wide and over a mile in depth, extending back to a road. Behind the road was a hay meadow common to all and beyond that the limitless prairie stretching out to the west. On the east side of the river there was timber, free for all. It was not long before log cabins were built on most of the lots, but all was not as rosy as it appeared.

Not only were the Scottish settlers more familiar with sheep than with gardens, but they sadly lacked tools and even the means to make them. Moreover they were not welcome and they were not allowed to forget it. 'Every Gentleman in the Service both Hudson's Bay and North-West was unfriendly to the Colony,' wrote Simpson to



Haying at Lower Fort Garry, 1860.

Colvile in 1822. Both Companies were principally interested in furs and were averse to seeing the country fenced and farmed. The hope that the little settlement could supply the Hudson's Bay Company with the produce of their land was doomed to disappointment. Indeed, in 1820 they had even consumed their seed wheat and had to send a party on snowshoes five hundred miles to Prairie du Chien to buy American wheat.

Realizing the situation, the Company after the Union in 1821, initiated a number of schemes intended in part at least to give the settlers work. Large sums were spent in organizing such ventures as a Buffalo Wool Company, which failed because the cloth woven from this wool could not be sold in England for a fraction of what it cost to manufacture it in Red River. Then they tried a Tallow Company, which failed, and another company was to grow flax and hemp. This, too, came to nothing.

Governor George Simpson was annoyed. He hated incompetence and, in writing to Andrew Colvile, said: 'Mr. Pritchard and his Buffalo Wool concern make a great noise; he is a wild visionary speculative creature without a particle of solidity and but a moderate share of judgement; if the business was properly managed I have not a doubt of its turning out well'.

Another venture in which Mr Pritchard, who was Lord Selkirk's agent, was concerned was the 'Hayfield Experimental Farm' which was established before the Union; it collapsed in 1822 because of foolish and extravagant mismanagement, nor was it the only experimental farm to fail. By 1824 the settlers had managed to secure or make some primitive implements, such as ploughs, and sickles with which the grain crops were harvested. They were threshed with a flail and ground in stone querns turned by hand, later by horses, and in 1825 the first windmill was erected. Another fine idea was distilling barley to reduce the cost of importing rum. There were a number of the settlers who were familiar with the process. Then in 1826, came the great flood, a 'complete extinguisher'; but, strangely enough, it proved an ill wind that blew much good, for the ruin was so great that many of the less desirable settlers left the place; those who remained to build anew had reached the turning point in their fortunes. Five years later the Red River Settlement was on its way to prosperity. Each settler had a comfortable home with barns and outhouses full of grain and cattle. Moreover, unlike the old days in Scotland, it was all their own and there were no landlords to hound them, and no tithes or dues payable to either church or state.

It was about this time that they had another go at an experimental farm. There had been two or three after the first fiasco and now, in 1831, Mr A. R. Lillie, who had had a good deal of experience in managing a farm in Fifeshire, was charged by the Governor to see what he could do. He worked at this for a number of years with a success that nobody had foreseen, and the amount of grain he produced was a significant proportion of the total Canadian wheat crop.

Another disastrous venture was in raising sheep. In the winter of 1832 a party was sent south into the United States to buy a suitable flock of sheep and, after a wrangle about prices, was obliged to go even farther south to Kentucky. Then came the task of driving the sheep back, some 1,000 miles or more. They started with 1,300 sheep and lambs, but what with festering wounds caused by spear-grass, lameness, rattlesnakes, and the necessity of keeping the herders fed on the trail, the flock was sadly depleted. They left on the 2nd of May 1833, and got back on the 12th of September with a little over 200 sheep; these apparently recovered from their long walk and were later reported to be doing well.

Farming was the important activity, but there were flower gardens too, though there is but little mention of them in the first few years of the settlement. In 1868, when the success of Selkirk's experiment was beyond doubt, there was a big garden at Lower Fort Garry in charge of an old English gardener who sent to the Old Country for all his seeds. Fresh flowers and vegetables graced the officers' table from the first asparagus in the spring to the last frozen turnip and parsnip well into winter, and the Lord help anybody the gardener saw touching anything without his express permission.

By 1878 Red River Settlement had a population of nearly 6,000 with model farms equipped with the most modern machinery and 'Mr. Inkster tells me that last year from seven bushels of potatoes planted he dug two hundred'.

Truly, *Labor omnia vincit.*

THE PRAIRIE FARMLANDS

Under the terms of the Deed of Surrender, sealed on the 19th of November 1869 the Hudson's Bay Company surrendered to the Queen's Most Gracious Majesty all the rights and privileges granted by King Charles II in 1670. In return the Company received £300,000 sterling, and the right to claim (at any time during the next fifty years) a grant of land in any township or district within the Fertile Belt, not exceeding one-twentieth of such township or district. The Company also retained its posts and other establishments and a reasonable area of land surrounding them, amounting to about 45,000 acres.

Selecting one-twentieth of an unsurveyed area presents difficulties and it was not until the Dominion survey of the prairies was begun that a fair allocation could be made. Grants of lands allocated were made progressively as the survey of each township was approved, and the H B C paid its ratable share of the survey cost. The Fertile Belt was bounded on the south by the United States; on the west by the Rocky Mountains; on the east by Lake Winnipeg and Lake of the Woods; and the northern branch of the Saskatchewan River formed the northern boundary, an area of about 140 million acres, of which one-twentieth amounted to 7 million acres. It was determined that in every fifth township Sections 8 and 26, and in every other township Section 8 and the south half and northwest quarter of Section 26 should be known as Hudson's Bay Land.

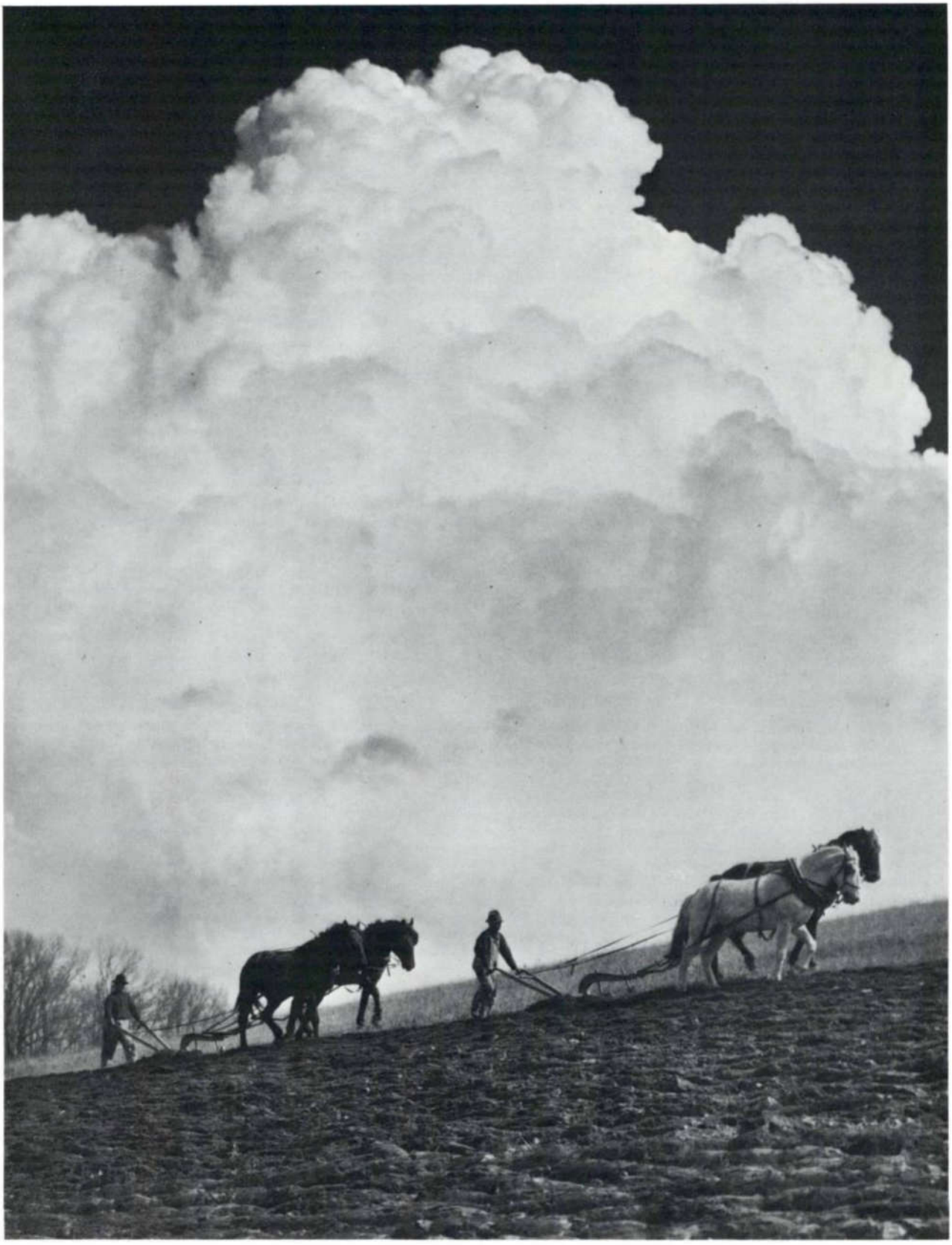
It was actually as late as 1928 before all the final details were settled, but as early as July 1872 the first land sale was made of a Winnipeg town lot to the Canadian Pacific Hotel Company. Town lots were put on the market early because the area was already surveyed and could therefore be defined in the title deed. The selling of farm land began in August 1879, when William McKechnie bought a whole section of 640 acres near Emerson, Manitoba. It was listed on the books as Sale No. 1: Section 8, Township 1, Range 3, east of the Principal Meridian. It cost him $6.00 per acre, or a total of $3,840.

Land sales were slow all through the 1890s but rose to a peak of nearly 370,000 acres in 1903. The First World War brought another marked decline and the Company decided to do something about it. In co-operation with the Cunard Steamship Line they organized a company with the somewhat unwieldy title of 'The Hudson's Bay Company Overseas Settlement Limited'. They had a London office at No. 1 Charing Cross and an office in Winnipeg.

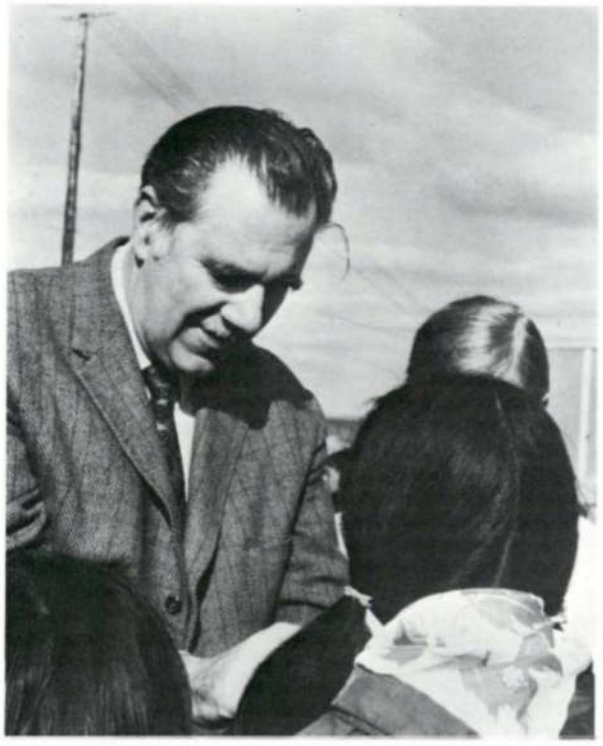
Settlers were given every imaginable assistance in selecting land (not necessarily H B C land), they were advised and instructed in farming methods, helped in arranging tickets and transportation, even assisted financially in some cases. The Company established a training farm in England under the supervision of an experienced Canadian farmer. Here young men were taught milking, ploughing, haying, and all the other skills needed by a competent farmer. Advertisements were run in *The Beaver* and in other media urging Canadian farmers who needed help to get in touch with the Company who would come to their assistance in getting suitable young men, and also their families and friends if need be, to come out to Canada and settle on the land, first as hired help and then, if all went well, on their own.

H B C lands were for sale at the following rates: one-eighth cash, balance in seven equal annual payments with interest payable annually at seven per cent; all minerals reserved. During all these years since the Deed of Surrender the Company paid taxes on its nearly seven million acres, or what was left of them. In June 1927 it was estimated that these tax payments amounted to 15,000,000 dollars and, some years later, when the Dirty Thirties struck, it was the Company's taxes that saved many a tight situation. By 1923 there were about three million acres still unsold as well as a great deal of town property. By 1960 all the farm land had been sold.

And so the land where once the buffalo roamed became the bread basket of Canada, a land of prosperity, of farms, towns and villages, churches and theatres, roads and railways, and from the first fumbling efforts at the Bottom of the Bay it was the Hudson's Bay Companys' persistent and unremitting efforts that pointed the way to development of agriculture in the Canadian West. ♦



Land Department advertisement from The Beaver, March, 1948.



NWT GOVERNMENT

N.W.T. Commissioner S. M. Hodgson 1970.

THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

The First Decade

by A. Stevenson
Chairman, N.W.T. Historical Advisory Board

A CENTURY AGO the Northwest Territories, that tremendously large and remote area formed by the union of Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory was taken into Confederation as a political unit. Although more than a million square miles have been whittled from its borders since that time, it still comprises 1,304,903 square miles, more than one-third of Canada.

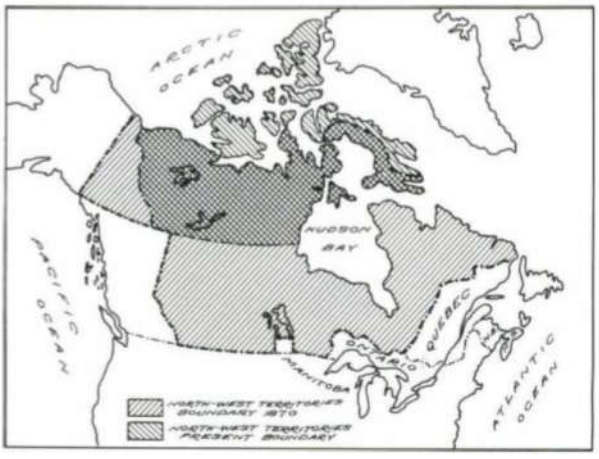
The creation of the Northwest Territories in 1870 had slight impact on the sparse and scattered population who lived within these boundaries as we know them today. Life north of the sixtieth parallel continued throughout the 1870s with little change. In Ottawa the government was preoccupied with the opening and settling of the western plains. Boundary commissions were set up; surveyors set the route for a transcontinental railway. Free traders and settlers travelled west in long creaking wagon trains in search of land and livelihood. The uprising at Red River ran its brief but vigorous course.

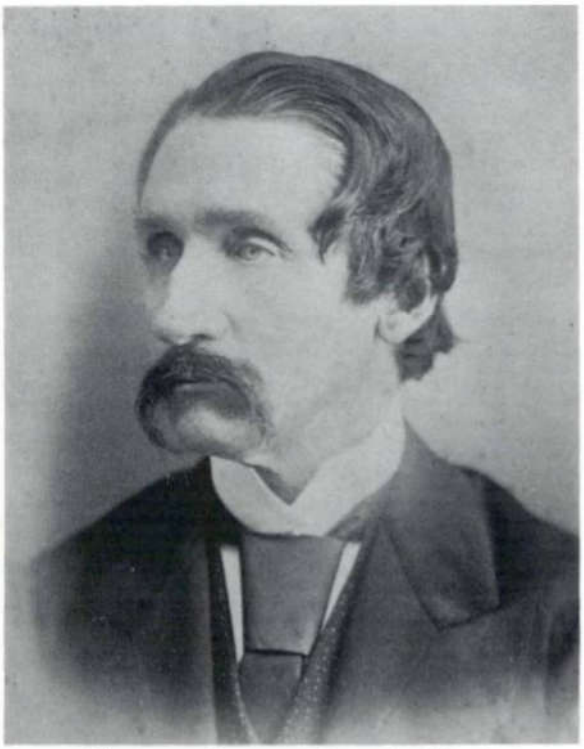
The western plains were vast but there were vaster regions in the northern part of the territories. These were largely uninhabited, except for unknown numbers of the original people, Indian and Eskimo; a handful of fur traders; a number of explorers and scientists; whalers, and a few pioneer missionaries.

In March 1873 Alexander Morris, the Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba, who acted in the same capacity for the Northwest Territories, addressed the Council in the tiny frontier capital of Winnipeg.

> The duties which devolve upon you are of highly important character. A country of vast extent which is possessed of abundant resources is entrusted to your keeping, a country which though at present but sparsely settled, is destined, I believe to become the home of thousands of persons, by means of whose industry and energy that which is now almost a wilderness will be quickly transformed into a fruitful land where civilization and the arts of peace will flourish.

The same year the North West Mounted Police was founded on the recommendation of Captain W. F. Butler who had travelled 4,000 miles to report on the situation





Lieutenant Governor Alexander Morris 1870.

in the lower northwest. He saw the urgent need to forestall the expansion of the United States north of the 49th parallel, and while many others also saw the threat to Canadian sovereignty from the south, the busy politicians of the day were unaware of a similar threat from the north.

Since 1860 American whalers had been wintering in Hudson Bay and their activities and those of the Eskimo people who worked with them were unchanged by events taking place in Winnipeg and on the fertile western plains. No law existed in the Arctic. No controls restricted the number of whales taken or the number of caribou, walrus or polar bear hunted for food and skins. Although some Scottish whaling vessels visited the Bay, it was mainly American sailing ships out of New Bedford, Massachusetts that wintered there. The Americans were the first to erect permanent shore stations in the Eastern Arctic. They settled at Roes Welcome Sound, Repulse Bay, and Depot and Southampton Islands. Marble Island, a wintering spot for many years and nearby Dead Man's Island are grim reminders of that era when many ships were lost on uncharted reefs and in the ice and storms of the inland sea. Crews who survived shipwreck and the icy seas often succumbed ashore to cold, hunger or the dread arctic disease, scurvy.

Robert Ferguson, harpooner on the whaling vessel *Abbie Bradford* which wintered over in 1878-79 with three other ships, described the misfortunes that befell his fellow whale men and observed that Dead Man's Island was well named. He recalled it was a bleak rock about 600 yards long and 200 yards wide, with rows of shallow graves piled high with stones to keep the frozen bodies from wolves and polar bears.

The whalers employed the Eskimos—the men to hunt fresh meat and the women to make skin garments and footwear. Eskimo hunters often helped man the small whaling boats lowered from the mother ship, where they learned a method of hunting different from their own in the chase of the mammoth Bowhead whale. Many became dependent on the whalers for new commodities; firearms, metal pots and cotton. Some families were moved as whaling activity shifted from one area to another.

On north Baffin Island the Eskimos remained in isolation, apart from some contact with whalers and explorers and the transitory search parties looking for the Franklin expedition of 1845. They continued the harsh routine of their lives as coastal dwellers mainly dependent for food, clothing, and fuel on the mammals of the sea. They lived in dome-shaped houses of hard-packed snow and summer tents of skin, travelled by dog team and hunted with weapons of bone and sinew. They had a strong cultural heritage in their oral history, folk songs and drum dances, and a philosophy of life, taboos and ethics that were practical and worked effectively for the good of their society.

For many centuries the Eskimos, unaware of political boundaries, had ranged across the northern regions, searching for game and guided by the stars and the intuition of their leaders. In the decade preceding 1870, one of the last of the eastern migrations toward Greenland was in progress. The journey followed a revelation to Qitdlarssuaq, the greatest angakok or medicine man on north Baffin Island. Knud Rasmussen, the world-renowned authority on Eskimos, recounts the tale he heard fifty years later from Merqusâq, one of the men born during the long migration.

After Qitdlarssuaq had once heard that there were Inuit over on the other side of the sea, he could never settle down to anything again. He held great conjurations of spirits in the presence of all the people of the village. He made his soul take long journeys through the air with his helping spirits to look for the country of the strange Inuit. At last one day he informed his fellow-villagers that he had found the new country! And he told them that he was going to journey to the strange people, and he exhorted them all to follow him.

A group of thirty-eight men, women and children responded to the challenge. They loaded their belongings on kamotiks or sleds and started north to find the country that Qitdlarssuaq had seen on his soul flight. Without map or compass they crossed Lancaster Sound to the shores of Devon Island as the dark period gave way to the return of the sun. When the spring ice broke they set up permanent camp and hunted seals, birds, white whales, narwhals, walrus, and polar bear. With the return of winter, they hitched up their dogs and set out again, following long stretches of coastline toward Ellesmere

Island. At the end of two winters of travel, some of the group, homesick and afraid of death in a strange land, began to question the dream of the wandering angakok. After a series of arguments and recriminations, twenty-four people with five kamotiks turned back; the fourteen others continued north with Qitdlarssuaq. He assured them it was not much farther to the new country, rich in wildlife resources and peopled by Eskimos like themselves. Enduring much suffering and hardship they travelled on. The great white-haired angakok, showing the strength of a young man, led the way. His followers declared that he was so magnificent and mighty that when he drove at night a white flame encircled his head like a halo.

Six springs passed before the group arrived on the shores of Ellesmere Island near Cape Sabine where Smith Sound narrows to a channel separating Canada from Greenland by under thirty miles. After an incantation, the angakok announced that he could see men on the opposite shores and from here they would cross the strait.

> So we crossed the sea which was frozen over, and camped on the opposite coast. There we found houses, human habitations, but no people. They had left the place. But we understood then that we had a very little farther to go before meeting with people, and a great joy filled us all: our veneration for the man who for years had led us towards the distant goal knew no bounds.

With the cry 'Qi-muss-iq!'—'Dog teams!'—the two Eskimo groups soon met. Like their earlier ancestors, crossing many centuries before from Asia to America without realizing they had moved into another continent, they now joined descendants of their forebears in yet another land.

With words of peace and joy the two groups mingled, shared their food and regaled each other with stories. For nearly six years they lived together, relearning their common culture. From the Canadians, the Greenlanders learned once more the use of the kayak, the snow house with the long tunnelled passages, the fish spear and the bow and arrow for caribou hunting. These skills had disappeared from the Greenlandic culture when Captain John Ross discovered the Polar Eskimos in the Etah area in 1818.

In the early 1870s the aging Qitdlarssuaq announced that he wished to see his own country once again before he died. Most of his followers joined him in what was to become a disastrous journey. After the first winter, the old angakok died and without his leadership and inspiration, his followers endured five years of hardship that ended for some in starvation, death and even cannibalism before the survivors struggled back to Greenland. Tales of the tragedy and the migration still survive in the folk lore and legends of north Baffin Island and Greenland.

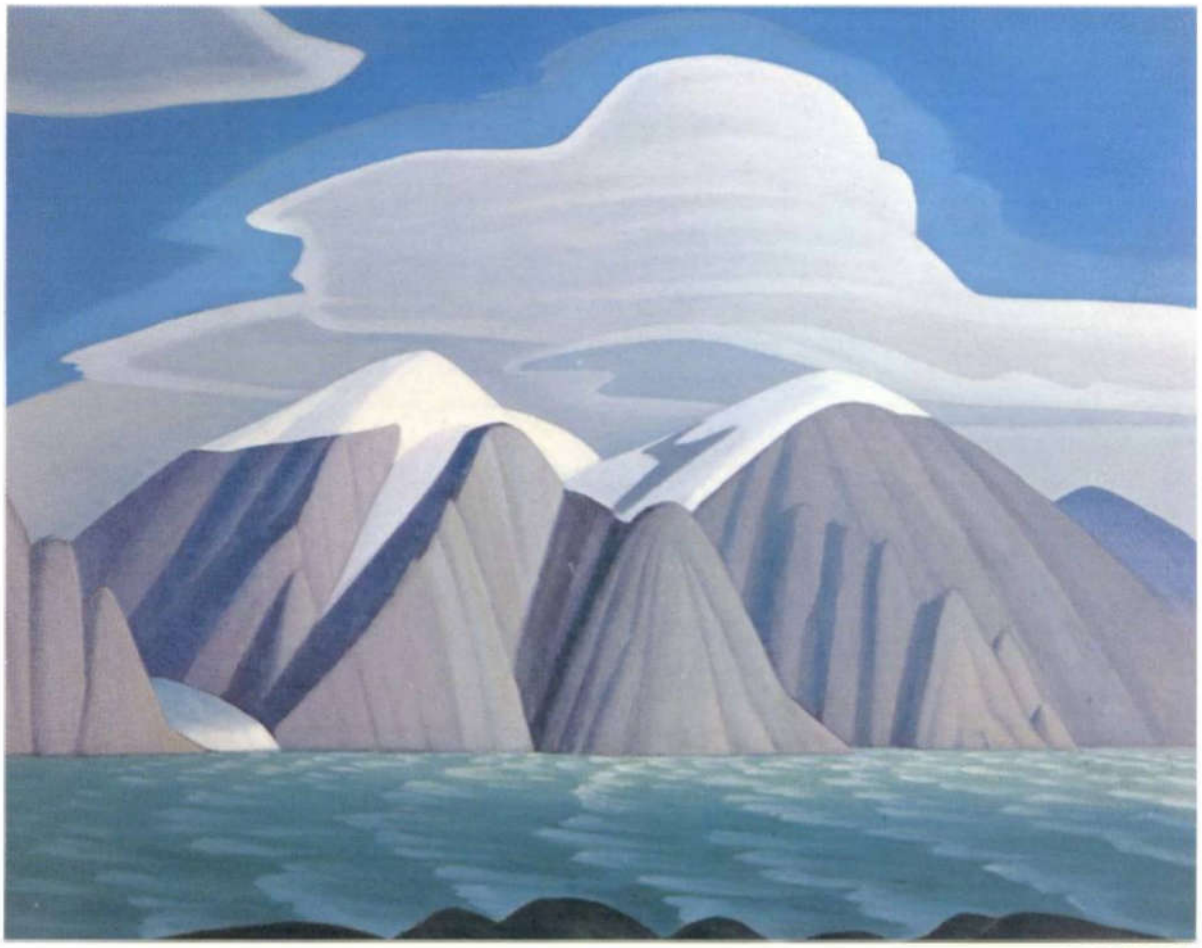
At the same time that Qitdlarssuaq and his followers were making their uncertain way between two countries five expeditions were plying Eastern Arctic waters. One was under the direction of Charles Francis Hall, an American who became fanatical in attempts to prove that some of the men from the missing Franklin expedition had adapted to the Eskimo way of life and had survived. In 1860-62, he explored the southeast coast of Baffin Island and found traces of the Martin Frobisher expedition of nearly three centuries earlier. He became proficient in the Eskimo language, learned to live and travel as they did and recorded many of their customs.

On his second expedition he went north by whaler to the northwest area of Hudson Bay. Again he travelled with the Eskimos, exploring Wager and Repulse Bay and making a 300-mile side journey to Igloolik.

In the spring of 1869 he travelled to King William Island by sledge where he found relics and skeletons and obtained from Eskimos a barometer and silverware that had belonged to the lost crews. His evidence confirmed the tragedy that had already been reported by Admiral McClintock and Dr John Rae.

In 1871, Hall, finally recognized for his arctic achievements, was given command of an American expedition to the North Pole. The vessel *Polaris* sailed up Baffin Bay and Smith Sound to the Kane Basin at 82°11′—the most northerly point yet recorded. Following this triumph, the expedition was struck by disaster and death. Hall died of arsenic poisoning on November 8 and was buried three days later on the Greenlandic side of the narrow passage separating that country from Ellesmere Island. With the loss of their controversial but dynamic leader, the expedition accomplished little the following spring and summer. In October 1872, *Polaris* was caught in a violent storm. Half of the ship's party were instructed to go onto the ice with two boats, two kayaks, a canvas tent and some provisions. When the floe broke away, the party of

Merqusãq who recounted the story of the Eskimo migration.



A Lawren Harris painting of the Arctic similar to his 'Bylot Island, 1930'. H B C COLLECTION

nineteen, including the ice navigator, Captain George E. Tyson and a number of Eskimos, drifted out to sea. They were picked up on April 30, 1873—a hundred and ninety-six days later—off the Labrador coast by the sealing vessel *Tigress*. They had drifted fifteen hundred miles.

Two years later a British arctic expedition under the command of Captain George S. Nares sailed north to plant the Union Jack beyond the point reached by the American, Hall. With dog teams and some of the same Eskimos who had travelled with Hall aboard, he followed the route between Ellesmere Island and Greenland, skilfully manoeuvring his ships *Alert* and *Discovery* to the very top of the continent and the edge of the Arctic Ocean. When the ships went into winter quarters, man-hauled sled parties surveyed the northern coasts of Ellesmere Island and Greenland. One party rounded Cape Columbia on Ellesmere Island where Canada's most northern community, Alert (appropriately named for the Nares vessel), is now located. The expedition contributed a great deal to the mapping and exploration of the High Arctic before scurvy incapacitated and crippled nearly half of the complement of one hundred and twenty men. They failed in their bid to reach the pole, but one group, dragging sleds over sea ice reached 83° 20′, exceeding Hall's mark and setting a new record.

The same year (1875), a second British expedition under Captain A. Young in *Pandora*, sailed from Plymouth with orders 'to proceed through Baffin Sea, Lancaster Sound, and Barrow Strait towards the magnetic pole and if practical to navigate the Northwest Passage to the Pacific Ocean in one season'. Since the route would take them past King William Island, they were to search for any further trace of Franklin's *Erebus* and *Terror*.

After a stop at Greenland, the *Pandora* sailed west to the Northwest Territories, and ran into ice that stretched across Lancaster Sound. Here a polar bear was captured and subdued by the medical officer who forced the animal to swallow a piece of blubber saturated with enough chloroform and opium to knock out a dozen men. The ship manipulated through open leads to Beechey Island, pushed down Peel Sound and attempted Bellot Strait.

A century ago arctic expeditions found the Eskimo people living off the land in a way that has virtually disappeared since these photos were taken nearly twenty years ago.

G. MARY-ROUSSELIÈRE

The ice closed in; Captain Young abandoned hope of making the passage and returned to Spithead.

The following year *Pandora* put to sea again with the same objective and the added assignment of trying to contact the Nares expedition. Captain Young searched Smith Sound for Nares, finally finding a record of the expedition ashore at Cape Isabella on Ellesmere. Ice locked their ship in Melville Bay until a storm broke up the pack, and when they moved again into open water to attempt the Northwest Passage, they found the season too advanced and were forced to return to England.

Two American expeditions followed the British to the Northwest Territories and contributed much to the arctic knowledge of the day. Supported by a grant from Congress for the establishment of an arctic base for scientific research, Captain Henry Howgate of the United States Signal Corps sailed north on the *Florence* (56 tons) to launch a preliminary project at Cumberland Sound on Baffin Island. During the winter of 1877-78 the two scientists aboard prepared splendid reports. Meteorologist O. Taft Sherman recorded a long list of meteorological, hydrographic and magnetic observations, noting close to one hundred auroral displays between November 1877 and August 1878. Naturalist Ludwig Kumlein's work covered ethnology, mammals and birds. His reports on the Eskimo people and his collection of skeletons and artifacts filled important gaps in the world's knowledge of the Northwest Territories. Although Captain Howgate was arrested several years later when the Signal Service report indicated that he had defrauded the United States government of large sums of money, he must be given credit for the achievements and results of the *Florence* expedition and for laying the groundwork for a later U.S. Polar Year expedition to Lady Franklin Bay, Ellesmere Island, in 1881-84.

During the first decade of its history, the Northwest Territories attracted still another American expedition. Captain Barry, an arctic whaling master, heard stories from the Eskimos that records were deposited in a cairn on King William Island and that uniformed white men were still alive in the area. The rumours captured the imagination of Lieutenant Frederick Schwatka of the United States Army. In June 1878 the whaling vessel *Eothen* of one hundred and two tons sailed from New York with Schwatka in charge and Barry as captain of the vessel. The men reached Chesterfield Inlet and spent the following two winters investigating the area of King William Island. They travelled by dog team with their Eskimo interpreter, Joe Ebierbing, who had been with both Hall and Young. They learned, as had McClintock, the fate of the missing men and found many relics but no records. Their overland return trip to Marble Island on Hudson Bay in the dead of winter was an amazing achievement. Although their scientific equipment was limited they did excellent work, fixing positions and mapping the coastline.

As exploration gradually revealed the outlines of the Eastern Arctic, fur traders continued to establish posts 'north of 60' in the Mackenzie wilderness. In 1877, after fifteen years of service, Chief Trader William Cornwallis King of the Hudson's Bay Company was put in charge of the post at Fort Rae. King met many northern Indians of note, and in the later years of his life recalled his experiences with the powerful old Indian, Chief Akaitcho who had guided Franklin to the polar sea in 1820. Chief Akaitcho or Confidante as he was also known, was still active in the 1870s and heading up a fur trade empire of his own. His runners went out to meet Indian trappers and Eskimos who were beginning to venture south from the Arctic Coast. He and members of his band came to Fort Rae to trade about once a year.

Akaitcho was Chief of the Copper or Yellowknife Indians who are part of the Athapaskan group. The Athapaskans are thought to be the descendants of one of the last Mongolian migrations that moved into the region from Asia some eight to ten thousand years ago. Their descendants today, as in the 1870s, are known as the Chipewyan, Yellowknife, Kutchin, Slave, Dogrib, Hare, Nahani, Sekani and Beaver tribes. The Dogribs, who derived their name from a legend recounting their descent from a dog, may have numbered around one thousand at the time that Cornwallis King was at Fort Rae. Herds of barren ground caribou provided them

PHOTOS BY G. MARY-ROUSSELIÈRE

Akaitcho and his son
by Lieutenant Hood.

with food, clothing and bone for weapons and utensils.

Farther to the north near the mouth of the Mackenzie was fur trader John Firth who, as many other H B C men, came from the Orkney Islands. He spent most of his long lifetime at the most northerly post of the period: Fort McPherson or Peel River Post as it was known in 1871. He rose to be a factor through sheer ability and strength of character. His formidable quietness had a compelling effect on Eskimos and Indians; his tact and understanding did much to bring peace between the two groups who had been traditional enemies for so long. Fort McPherson served both the Indians and Eskimos from the Arctic Coast for many years. John Firth married a Loucheux woman who bore him twelve children. His descendants perpetuate his name and are making worthwhile contributions to the developing north of today.

The name Camsell is another associated with that era of the fur trade. Chief Factor Julien Stewart Camsell served the H B C in the north from 1859 to 1900, travelling over vast distances by dog team, canoe and York boat brigade. His son Charles, who became the eminent geologist and who rose to the rank of deputy minister in the public service, was born at Fort Liard, N.W.T., in 1876.

In earlier days, Camsell, Firth and traders like them took on many roles; law enforcement, medical care, counselling. During their years of service they were a nucleus of stability in the wilderness; their operation of posts provided a constant source of trading goods, public transportation and mail service. The men of 'The Bay' knew the country and the people; they offered hospitality and advice to many travellers in the Mackenzie district in the pioneer years.

The same zeal that brought men to distant lands in search of trade, also brought men of the Church to preach the Gospel. By the 1870s both Anglican and Roman Catholic missionaries had made contact with a number of Indian tribes of the Mackenzie River and with the Eskimos on the Arctic Coast. These men served under austere and difficult conditions and although the conflict between old beliefs and new teaching by men of different faiths sometimes created confusion, with disastrous re-

sults, there is no doubting the sincerity, patience and courage of these men of the cloth.

One of the missionaries of the era was Father Emile Petitot of the Oblate Order who travelled extensively through the region northwest of Great Slave Lake, Great Bear Lake and the Mackenzie Delta. He explored the region of the Eskimo Lakes and travelled along the Anderson River where a population of about six hundred Indians and Eskimos were reported to be living at that time. He mapped much of the area around Lake Colville with an accuracy that is still admired by geographers today. The papers and books he prepared on his travels and the people are a valuable record of the times. His artistic talent is evident in the delicate miniatures of flowers, fruits and birds that he painted, using fish oil as a medium, in the Roman Catholic Mission at Fort Good Hope.

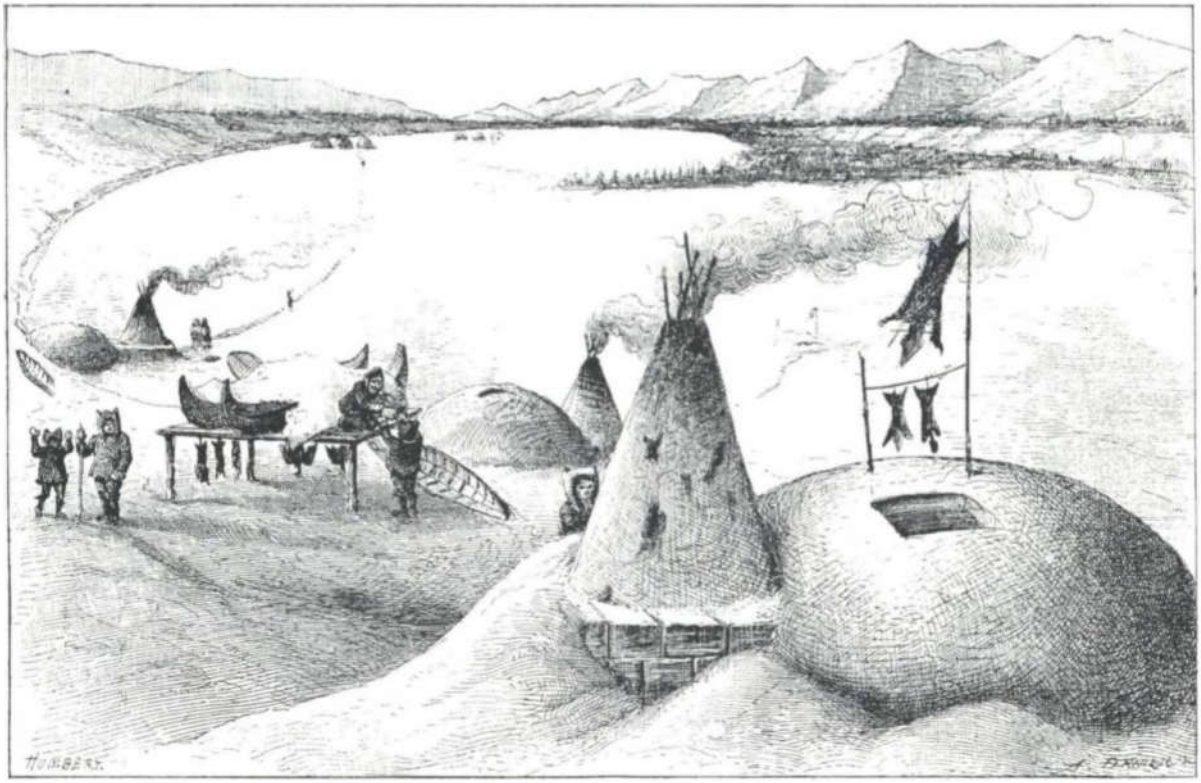
In the historic year 1870, the Anglican missionary, Reverend W. C. Bompas, with a roving commission, travelled more than four thousand miles throughout the region that stretched from the Peace River area to the Arctic Coast. He had learned the Indian tongue, initiated the translation of hymns, prayers and scriptures and prepared the way for the opening of mission stations. In 1874, when the Church of England created the Diocese of Athabaska, William Bompas became the first Bishop. His headquarters were at Fort Simpson and under his direction missions were opened at Fort Rae, Fort Wrigley, Fort Resolution, Rampart House, La Pierre's House, and Fort Franklin.

The achievements of the missionaries Petitot and Bompas typify the work of the churches in the far northwest in the 1870s. The schools and hospitals associated with the missions gave a permanence to northern communities. Both men, from their accumulated knowledge gave valuable evidence to the Select Committees of the Senate of Canada 1887-1888, set up to investigate the natural resources of the great unsettled Mackenzie Basin and related northland. These were known as the 'Schultz' Committees and were headed by Senator J. C. Schultz who had been leader of the Canadian party at the time of the Red River uprising, 1869-70.

In the early period little or no contact existed between the people of the various widespread regions. Today, although distances remain formidable, effective communication and transportation systems have been developed and this year the 32,000 residents joined in Centennial celebrations to commemorate their one hundred years of membership in the Canadian Confederation. In various ways they paid tribute to the past and expressed faith in the future.

The theme of the year was unity. The purpose was to bring together more closely all people of the north, regardless of ethnic background, for the northward development and expansion that will inevitably come as the Territories move into their second century. •

Eskimo village on the Anderson River from a drawing by Father Emile Petitot.



THE QUEEN ACCEPTS

IN A PERSISTENT RAINFALL on the afternoon of 14 July 1970, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II mounted a dais outside the stone wall of Lower Fort Garry to accept from Viscount Amory, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, the rent due to her as reigning monarch.

The Royal Charter granted by Charles II on 2nd May 1670 specifies that The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay shall pay 'two Elkes and two Black Beavers whensoever and as often as wee our heires and Successors shall happen to enter into the said Countryes Territoryes and Regions hereby granted'.

For the first time live black beavers were accepted; they swam during the ceremony in an open tank filled with water and poplar branches in front of the dais. The 'Elkes' in the form of two mounted elk heads, were sheathed in plastic to protect them from the rain.

This rent ceremony may be the last. On 29 May 1970 the first Canadian Charter was granted, transferring the Company from the United Kingdom to Canada. With the retirement of Viscount Amory as Governor on 26 November 1970 after five and a half years of service, the first Canadian Governor George T. Richardson, President of James Richardson and Sons Limited, was appointed. Mr. Richardson is the thirty-second person to hold the office of Governor. Appointments to the position have been made thirty-three times; Governor Stephen Evance had two terms of service, from 1692-1696 and again from 1700-1712.

To
THE QUEENS
The Humble Address of the Governor and Company
of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay
MAY it please Your Majesty We the Governor and Company
of Adventurers of England trading into Hudsons Bay
offer our humble duty on the occasion of Your entering
once again into those territories formerly known as Rupert's Land
BY our First Charter, granted by Your Majesty's royal pre-
decessor, King Charles the Second in the year One thousand,
six hundred and twenty, it was ordained that we should yield
and pay to Him his heirs and successors two Elks and two Black
Beavers whensoever He, his heirs and successors should happen
to enter into His territory of Rupert's Land and we therefore, beg
Your Majesty to accept these two Elks and two Black Beavers
which we now offer to You under the terms of that Charter.
WE are most gratified that this tribute should be rendered
to Your Majesty in the very year in which the Company is
rejoicing in the three hundredth anniversary of its incorporation
and hold it especially fitting that our tribute should this year
again take place in Winnipeg the capital of the Province of
Manitoba, which Province is this year, by happy coincidence,
celebrating its hundredth anniversary.
THIS historic Company is ever mindful of the honour con-
ferred upon it by the appointment of Prince Rupert as its
first Governor and of James Duke of York, afterwards King James
the Second as its second Governor.
UPON this memorable Occasion we thank Your Majesty as
Queen of Canada for having made it possible during this
visit to Your Realm of Canada for us to render this tribute
to You, and we pray that Your Majesty may continue to be
granted under Divine Providence, a long and glorious reign.
Given under the Seal of the Company this Fourteenth day of July 1970
Amory
Governor
Managing Director

The Humble Address presented to Elizabeth II by Viscount Amory, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company at the rent ceremony, 14 July 1970.

Henry McKenzie.

TWO NORTH WESTERS

THE NAME McKENZIE is synonymous with the fur trade and with the North West Company in particular. Sir Alexander Mackenzie was the best known, of the clan but there were many more members who left their imprint on the fur trade scene.

Henry McKenzie, a first cousin, was such a man, but his fame came from the skilful use of his pen rather than exploration. The Montreal *Gazette* and *Courant* published many of his letters and articles which told of the fur trade from the North Westers' point of view.

He came to Canada about 1800 at twenty years of age with his brother Donald from the Loch Broom area of Scotland. Two other brothers, Roderick and James were already established with the North West Company. A fifth brother, John sent his son Major Kenneth McKenzie

Donald McIntosh.

FOR OVER TWENTY YEARS Donald McIntosh held control of a vast fur-trading territory on the north shore of Lake Superior, first for the North West Company and later for the Hudson's Bay Company. His native country, Scotland, could have been set unnoticed, in one small corner of this rugged section of the Precambrian Shield.

His father John, son of one of the chiefs of clan McIntosh had six brothers killed at the battle of Culloden. Some time after 1745 John McIntosh left Scotland on his own, and came to the United States where he settled near Albany in the state of New York. Here he remained until the War of Independence when he joined the Loyalist forces. Later he came to Canada and settled on a grant of land near St Andrews in Glengarry County, Upper Canada. He raised a family of seven girls and two boys. Donald one of the two boys was born in 1773. He entered the service of the North West Company about 1790, and was with them until they amalgamated with the H B C in 1821.

Donald McIntosh's career with the two firms spanned nearly fifty years until his retirement in 1838 to St Polycarpe in Lower Canada, near the Glengarry border. His father's old home and his own are still standing today. Like many another Scot who joined the North Westers, his was a colourful career. Little of this was ever recorded,

Mr MacMillan is with the Department of Public Records and Archives, Ontario Government.

to take up land grants in Glengarry, Upper Canada, where many of his descendants live today. John McKenzie took no active part in the fur trade but likely helped to recruit clerks in this Highland settlement close to Montreal.

Henry served his apprenticeship at Kaministiquia (later Fort William), and judging by his later writings he could have left a vivid account of life at this great fur trade centre. By 1804 he was back in Montreal. Following the death of Simon McTavish, first head of the North Westers, he was appointed to manage his mills at Terrebonne. When Sir Alexander returned to Scotland in 1808 he assumed the added responsibility of managing his cousins' affairs in Canada, including extensive holdings of land in Glengarry.

It was during the controversy between Lord Selkirk and the North Westers that Henry McKenzie became best known. His letters to the Montreal newspapers were published regularly and presented his Company's viewpoint. In 1818 the term public relations officer was not in use, but that was the role he played. In 1825 he published a lengthy letter to Simon McGillivray that reviewed his relations with the North West Company.

The famous Montreal Beaver Club elected him a member in 1815. In the same year he married Anne Bethune, daughter of the Reverend John Bethune, the first Church of Scotland minister at Williamstown, Glengarry, Upper Canada.

This painting of Henry McKenzie was found with a descendant, Professor D. B. Shutt of Guelph. It is hoped that more of his writings will be discovered.

BY HUGH MacMILLAN

but recently discovered letters to other fur traders and to his sister Christy reveal something of his thinking.

Various posts in the Canadian west were his home until 1816 when he took charge of Fort Michipicoten. Here Lord Selkirk had him arrested during his first year in charge of the post. Several of his children by his Indian wife were sent east to be educated. In a letter written to his sister Christy at St Andrews on 17 August 1816, he has the following to say:

'I am glad to hear that John, my son applies himself more diligently to his books. It is most time that he should be a scholar. For there are several that went down two years after him that are now apprentice clerks to the company and if I thought he was qualified to be a clerk I would have him at this place next summer and keep him a couple of years under my own eye. I therefore recommend to you to send him to a good school this ensuing winter, and to get him to learn the rules and principles of bookkeping'.

Later he writes of one of his daughters who is under his sister's care saying he approves of her being sent to the nunnery if only to 'learn how to sew and embroider, as well as receiving other education'.

His next sentence has important news. 'I announce to you with satisfaction that I am admitted a partner of the N. West Company at long last. You'll say it is better late than never, but owing to the unfortunate contest between the N. West Co and H. Bay Co prospects for returns are in no way flattering.' He had waited over twenty years for a partnership only to see its value diminished by the bitter rivalry between the two fur giants.

After referring to the battle at Seven Oaks he mentions that Lord Selkirk's agent, Miles Macdonell also from Glengarry had recently called, to complain 'the North West Co was most severe upon him whilst he was their prisoner', but in McIntosh's opinion, 'Not more so than he richly deserves. For had it been in his power, he would have got our throats cut with all his heart.'

On a more personal note he closes. 'You requested the stature of my woman, she is about as tall as you are but very slender. I send you and my children a few pair of moccasins. I'm sorry I can send you no buffalo robes this year for they are very scarce at Fort William. You may depend on them for next year.'

It was through two of McIntosh's descendants the late Mrs Irons of Toronto who died recently at 101, and Miss L. McKeracher of Montreal, that this picture of him was located. Donald McIntosh was one of many displaced 'Scots' who found his career, exploring Canada in search of furs. ◆

DONALD B. MARSH

In the 1930s the two-way radio was the only contact for emergency medical help at most fur trade posts. Here, Mrs E. J. (Scotty) Gall, who was at Cambridge Bay in 1939, calls Coppermine.

Health By Remote Control

by Helen Burgess

SHORTLY AFTER MIDNIGHT one day in early September, 1946, Chesley Russell called RCMP Constable Ball to the Hudson's Bay Company's trading post at Eskimo Point on the west coast of Hudson Bay. He wanted moral support while he prepared and administered his first injection of penicillin. The patient was his year-old son who had been sick for several days.

'On Wednesday, he literally wilted,' wrote Mr Russell. 'Wednesday morning he was running a bit of a temperature so I advised Dr Moody. He directed that we start sulphadiazine doses immediately. He wouldn't keep the sulpha down and by evening his temperature had risen alarmingly—103.06°—he seemed lifeless and wouldn't sleep. Luckily we contacted Chesterfield about 11.30 p.m. and Dr Moody went over to the radio station and talked to me in person. He then recommended penicillin injections . . . Between the two of us we concocted the solution. I handled the hypodermic and after the first injection a slight noticeable improvement took place. By morning, after another injection, his temperature had dropped two degrees and the baby was sleeping. Thank all the Gods that are for penicillin and for the generosity of the Hudson's Bay Company for having a supply on hand. Nellie really thought he was slated for the boneyard. . . .'

The miracle of having penicillin at the isolated community in 1946 was the result of a determined effort by the Company to improve the health of the northern fur trade staff. During the 1930s too many traders were plagued by a vague condition that they referred to as 'bush stomach'. They suffered from aches and pains, loss of weight and vitality, and indigestion. They had serious dental problems; their eyes gave them trouble; from time to time they faced inevitable emergencies that required immediate skilled care.

In the late 1930s the Company's General Manager Philip Chester invited a remarkable group of doctors to act as consultants. All were known for their studies in nutrition and for their broad medical background. The initial team, Drs F. F. Tisdall, T. G. H. Drake and J. Harry Ebbs—all associated with the Research Laboratory at the Toronto Hospital for Sick Children—were soon joined by Dr Elizabeth Chant Robertson and, in 1949, by research chemist Dr S. H. Jackson. Their services spanned a period of thirty years.

At the first meeting between the Company and consultants, it was agreed that one of the team should go north as soon as possible to meet and talk with the fur trade staff and have a first hand look at the problems of food supply and medical care. In the summer of 1939, when the Company's twin-engined Beechcraft took off on an inspection tour of the Mackenzie and Central Arctic, Dr Harry Ebbs was aboard. He suspected that many of the ailments, including dental problems, were directly related to vitamin deficiencies, and with some exceptions this was the case.

'Opens a can as taste dictates,' he wrote in his diary after talking to a young fur trader who had been steadily

losing weight during his five years of service. Bachelors, he noted, were generally casual about their meals. They took cans at random from the store shelves, heated them, and ate on the run. If they felt out of sorts they resorted to the old-country habit of taking bicarbonate of soda. This was often added to vegetables as they heated on the stove and had the side effect of destroying vitamins B_1 and C.

Dr Ebbs made emphatic notes about the need for 'much more ground education' and 'intensive sales talks' to make his points with traders who weren't inclined to take time and trouble with their meals. He sat down in post kitchens and asked the men about their use of milk powder, oatmeal, fruit juice and cheese. Usually the answers were more satisfactory if the trader was married and his wife was in charge of the kitchen. In the Mackenzie he found that some families like the Craigs at Fort Norman and the Crossleys at Fort Good Hope had flourishing gardens and household arrangements to store their vegetables. The nutritional value of fresh vegetables was reflected in vigorous health and sound teeth.

One of the first recommendations that Dr Ebbs made echoed the thoughts of the London Committee, who in 1683 had urged Governor Henry Sergeant at Albany 'to use your utmost skill and industry . . . to try in all places where we are settled what the earth will bring forth & that you may make the experiments we have furnished you with severall sorts of seeds & graynes & will continue to doe soe. . . .'

A gardening competition was launched and in December 1941 the H B C staff magazine, *Moccasin Telegraph*, published the first results. There were photographs of squash at Hay River, lush tomatoes at Telegraph Creek in northern British Columbia, a display of carrots, cabbages, onions and green beans from Albany. In spite of snow in June and frost in August, Charles Reiach at Aklavik had fresh vegetables; Mrs. Reiach two years later wrote: 'It seems to take about three years before this ground is tamed . . . you can notice the difference in potatoes . . . much more taste now'.

The Demments at Cape Dorset had 'greens' under glass in their hothouse, and in Sugluk, Herb Figgures produced what he believed to be the first crop of peas grown on Hudson Strait. In the summer of 1947, when the garden at Split Lake (inland from York Factory on Hudson Bay) produced 2,200 pounds of potatoes, Dr

On the 1939 trip, Dr Ebbs saw the Crossley garden at Fort Good Hope (above) and was forced down by weather for two days on muskeg north of Chesterfield Inlet.

RICHARD FINNIE

The cow is a rare animal in the Arctic. In the 1930s Dr L. D. Livingstone owned this one at Aklavik.

Ebbs wrote with satisfaction: 'It would require 6,600 oranges to provide as much Vitamin C as is contained in the 2,200 pounds of potatoes.' There was no doubt that the fur traders of the 1940s had taken to gardening with considerable success and enthusiasm.

When the doctors suggested that fresh meat and poultry at the posts would be a valuable addition to diets (another idea the London Committee had promoted nearly three centuries earlier), R. H. Chesshire of the Fur Trade Department took up the matter in a memorandum of 13 September 1943.

'I questioned the advisability of pursuing a program of shipping live animals, chickens, etc., to our Posts . . . it would be necessary for us to prepare manuals about feed, sickness, care of animals, and probably the provision of some sort of shelter or warmth during the long winter months. In connection with killing, careful instructions would have to be given out about slaughter, preparation of the carcass, care of the carcass and so on.

'There is also the problem of transportation, purchase of feed, and innumerable problems arising from the care of animals, and after all, we have been going through a program of trying to relieve our Post Managers of extra duties so that they could really learn something about their trade and concentrate upon their trade.'

Spruce beer, the age-old remedy for scurvy, was another surprising item discussed in the medical correspondence. In a letter dated 18 September 1944, Dr Tisdall wrote: 'While in Washington recently, I had an opportunity of talking with a Russian scientist who had been doing extensive studies in Russia in connection with the preparation of vitamin C from pine and spruce needles. I also had the opportunity of discussing this problem with Dr Platt of the Medical Research Council of Great Britain. Platt thought we ought to investigate the possibility of fermenting the spruce needles. Strange to say the Russian has been doing the same thing . . . He states it contains 30 to 40 mgms per $3\frac{1}{3}$ ounces of material, which would be about half a glass.' The vitamin content of spruce beer then compares with tinned tomatoes, 20 mgms to $3\frac{1}{3}$ ozs, and fresh orange juice, 50 to 60 mgms to $3\frac{1}{3}$ ozs.

The survey in 1939 was curtailed by weather conditions and a forced landing east of Coppermine. Dr Ebbs had been impressed by the vigorous health of the Eskimo people along the Arctic Coast, and he had looked forward to seeing both the fur traders and Eskimos in the Eastern Arctic.

'Children—wonderful big white teeth—few pits—few rough areas on enamel,' he had written in his diary at Tuktoyaktuk. 'Even old people seem to have good teeth, gums firm and healthy. All very strong and healthy looking with no evidence of rickets. Marked contrast to Indians farther south.'

The natural diet of the Eskimos appeared to be rich in essential vitamins. The fresh liver of the seal contained large amounts of vitamins A and D, and the custom of eating the moss and lichen contents of the caribou stomach—green as grass—provided vitamin C. Some fur traders and particularly those in the Eastern Arctic used country food to vary their diet and Dr Ebbs believed that their health would reflect the double benefits of hunting activity and the nourishment of fresh meat.

'Nearly everyone ate and enjoyed caribou,' recalls a trader of that era, 'but seal meat was another story. It is a taste that has to be acquired.'

Single men with long terms of service in the North had occasionally worked out their own solutions to isolation

M. H. NEIL

and food supplies. Decades before the deep freeze system was in common use, arctic traders were experimenting with frozen foods in unheated warehouses.

'We froze nearly everything,' they recall. 'We baked bread for the winter and froze it and we froze the eggs. The egg whites were all right but the yolks were always a hard ball that didn't spread out in the pan.' One trader remembers that he used to thaw his breakfast orange by putting it in the hot water reservoir on the end of the cook stove.

To keep in touch with staff in the field, the doctors asked each trader for a careful individual record of all the food he ate during a set period of time. In the first survey, close to 1,000 records were received and analyzed in Toronto. More or less severe diet deficiencies were discovered and followed up by personal letters of advice.

The most general weakness was insufficient use of milk and milk products. The doctors regarded this deficiency of Vitamin B_2 or riboflavin as critical in the North, where the eyes—which the condition affects most—are exposed to prolonged periods of intense light at certain periods of the year. In severe cases, they warned, this condition could lead to snow blindness and even total blindness.

The team studied the foods commonly used at posts, and analyzed brands of canned meat, vegetables and fruit. A brand of chicken stew was discontinued when it was found there were only $2\frac{1}{2}$ ounces of chicken in the 15-ounce can; another brand of meat was deleted for the reason that 'it is expensive to buy water in tins'. The old system of selecting cans from shelves at random was replaced by a mess order form. Foods were grouped according to nutritional value and choices from each section provided a well balanced diet.

The fur traders liked the new arrangement. It suggested foods some had never thought of before. Along with the new rations went information gathered together in a booklet 'Your Food and Health in the North'. The doctors selected the best cook book available and sent the two publications out to the posts with a loose leaf manual that suggested menus and ideas for planning meals, storing food, and performing other household tasks.

As a further safeguard, vitamin and mineral capsules were made up according to a prescription devised by the consultants. In August 1941, when Dr Tisdall visited fur trade posts along the Labrador and east coasts of Hudson and James Bays, he was agreeably surprised to find that many of the staff had accepted and were using the tablets regularly. 'The incidence and duration of colds . . . have been decreased . . . and in some instances, symptoms of stomach trouble have either disappeared completely or become less severe.' The Governor in London, reflecting the interest of his predecessors in all developments asked for some of the tablets and 2,000 were sent to him in January, 1942.

A natural outgrowth of the H B C health program was an increased concern for the health of the native people. On his 1939 trip, Dr Ebbs visited reserves in the Mackenzie where the people were constantly making small quantities of 'a bread mixture cooked in a frying pan'. The bannock was little more than refined flour and water and had scant nutritional value.

The use of refined flour was not exclusive to the Indian settlements. It was used generally throughout the Arctic and in the South. The superior nutritional value of whole wheat flour was well known but it was not popular. For years, millers had taken pride in perfecting the finest and whitest flour possible. They scorned the coarse grained, creamy coloured whole wheat product. Housewives found whole wheat flour tricky to use; it was inclined to produce bread that was heavy and off-white in colour.

'The only element that liked the whole wheat flour was the bugs,' recalled Dr Jackson, the team's research

The arctic trader and his family made bread and grew vegetables. At the right, the greenhouse at Cape Dorset on Baffin Island.

For many years traders provided dental and medical care to the native population. Today most arctic locations have nursing stations and modern H B C stores with a good selection of food.

chemist. 'They'd go for it and not touch the white stuff.' In 1940, experiments produced a flour that could bring about an improvement in the health of the native people. It was one-third whole wheat and two-thirds white flour and 120,000 pounds were sent in the summer of 1940 to Pangnirtung and Chesterfield in the Arctic and to Rupert's House, Lake River and Attawapiskat in James Bay District. The people tried it but didn't like it. It made poor, heavy, dark-coloured bannock.

The following year the Chief Dominion Cerealist in Ottawa perfected a white flour that retained three-quarters of the B vitamins and was barely distinguishable from ordinary white flour. Post Managers were asked to 'get behind the new flour one hundred per cent'—to use it themselves and to urge the Indian and Eskimo people to buy it.

'The usual white flour gave them little more than full stomachs when they got enough of it,' explained an item in the *Moccasin Telegraph*. 'Now they will have a valuable source of vitamins and minerals.'

Two years later most posts were handling only the Canada Approved Vitamin B White Flour. C. S. Grant at Dease Lake in northern British Columbia reported that 'one thing I have noticed is that the natives have not had the colds they usually get around this time of the year'. At Sugluk, the Eskimo people liked the flour; it required less baking powder than the ordinary flour, they believed, and H. B. Figgures commented 'which no doubt in the long run will benefit their health as the natives here are excessive baking powder users and we do not think that too much of this is good for their stomachs'.

Dr Tisdall reported to the Company after his trip along the Labrador and Hudson Bay that he believed the native diet could be improved at relatively low cost. In March 1942 the Company sent Dr Tisdall and an American nutrition expert to examine Indian groups in northern Manitoba and Saskatchewan.

'Evidence of marked malnutrition was found,' wrote Dr Tisdall, 'and it was concluded that many characteristics, such as shiftlessness, indolence, improvidence and inertia, so long regarded as inherent or hereditary traits in the Indian race, may at the root be really the manifestation of malnutrition.'

Post managers were asked to encourage the Indians to cultivate gardens, to take some milk powder along with their supplies and to eat and preserve edible wild fruits. The results of these suggestions do not appear to be on record. When a second survey was undertaken, however, it was 'felt essential to have sociological and anthropological information. For instance it would be useless to recommend a limited agricultural program if the Indian's only ambition was to be a hunter'.

While it is difficult to assess the value of the Company's attempts to improve nutrition of the native people, the benefits from up-dated H B C medical manuals and first aid kits were real. Modern effective drugs—sulphathiazole and penicillin—were supplied and available to members of isolated communities if required. As had always been their custom, the traders pulled teeth, used two-way radios for medical advice on emergency cases, treated frostbite and gunshot wounds, arranged for hospital evacuations and coped with the epidemics that

swept the community after annual visits of the supply ship. Health records of the people in the neighborhood of the posts were kept, checked and discussed with Dr Percy Moore of the federal Indian Affairs Branch.

In February 1945, the Honourable T. A. Crerar, Minister of Mines and Resources, wrote to the Governor in London acknowledging the wholehearted service that H B C traders had given to the aboriginal population in the North. Specifically mentioned by Mr Crerar were Mr and Mrs Frank Melton, Wolstenholme, Quebec, for two years of nursing and care of tubercular patients (1942-44); Mr and Mrs O. M. Demment, Cape Dorset, N.W.T., for outstanding achievements in preventing the spread of spinal meningitis in the Cape Dorset area (January and February, 1943); James Bell, Arctic Bay, N.W.T., for his skilful amputation of the fingers of an Eskimo; J. W. Stanners, Fort Ross, N.W.T., for meritorious service during an epidemic at Pond Inlet (1944); and Mr and Mrs P. A. C. Nichols, Port Harrison, Quebec, for care of an insane Eskimo at Cape Smith, N.W.T., and control of so-called religious excitement near Povungnetuk (1944).

During the war years when Dr Tisdall and his associates became involved in nutrition on a national and international scale, information to and from the northern posts flowed both ways. A new rich source of vitamin C was discovered in England and Dr Ebbs, who had joined the Nutrition Advisory Board to the Minister of Agriculture was quick to advise the northern staff.

'Rose hips are the red fruit or berries that form on wild or garden rose bushes after the petals fall off. They are by far the richest in vitamin C of all natural products—containing twenty to thirty times as much vitamin C as the juice of an orange.' Instructions for picking rose hips and for making rose hip drinks, jam and honey were published with his comments in the *Moccasin Telegraph*.

'The Germans knew all about the value of rose hips before the war,' says Dr. Ebbs. 'They had bushes planted along country lanes, prepared to cope with a possible shortage of vitamin C.'

The results of the basic research that had been done on nutrition for the Company's fur traders were now used to devise rations to keep the Armed Forces and particularly RCAF pilots at top efficiency. Red Cross prisoner-of-war parcels were packed with food that had passed the H B C testing programs; the contents were chosen to provide maximum nourishment and variety within the limitations of a monthly package that weighed about seven pounds. When maternal and infant mortality rose sharply in war-time Britain, the consultants recommended to Britain's Ministry of Health superior diets that had been used to correct deficiencies in the North; emergency regulations were passed that substantially reduced the mortality rate. In post-war years the World Health Organization, through Dr Ebbs, showed considerable interest in the H B C program and its possibilities of benefit to underdeveloped nations.

The era of the fur trader who received his mail and supplies once a year and his Christmas greetings by radio is part of history. He has been replaced by the manager of a modern self-serve department store with a range of frozen and fresh foods comparable to retail outlets in the South. Although some still operate in isolation, a vastly improved system of communication and transport links them to the outside world and medical care. The program that was devoted to keeping traders in good health in the formidable wilderness areas of Arctic and sub-Arctic Canada, has also become history. It was a chapter written by a small dedicated group and its benefits reached in many ways beyond the northern posts to other areas of Canada and the world. ◆

The Chipewyan

Text by E. S. ROGERS

Drawings by LEE UPDIKE

THE CHIPEWYAN, who speak a dialect of the Athapaskan language, inhabited the country north of the Churchill River, inland from Hudson Bay. They referred to themselves as Déné meaning 'The People'. Another name was 'Caribou Eaters'. Their neighbours to the north were the Eskimos, to the south the Cree and to the west other Athapaskan speaking Indians. Hostilities marked the relationship of the Chipewyan and the Eskimo and it will be recalled how in 1771 the Chipewyan who guided Hearne to the Arctic Ocean killed the Eskimos camping near the mouth of the Coppermine River. In the early years of the fur trade, the Cree pushed west and disrupted Athapaskan groups located toward the Mackenzie River including the Chipewyan. The Chipewyan looked down upon the Cree because they lived on hares, not caribou. But the Cree had been forced to alter their subsistence pattern in the early part of the last century when big game was nearly exterminated. Previously, the Cree too had lived on caribou.

Everywhere the country inhabited by the Chipewyan is of low relief. Rocky outcroppings are exposed here and there but elsewhere the bed rock and gravel are covered with mosses, lichens, and heather or in the south by thin stands of spruce, larch, birch, and poplar, the open boreal forest or taiga. Lakes and rivers are numerous and formed the principal summer highways of the Chipewyan. Interspersed with these bodies of water are areas, large and small, of muskeg. The climate is harsh. On the Barren Lands, there are no trees to break the winter winds and even in the forested area to the south the stands are generally not dense enough to provide much protection.

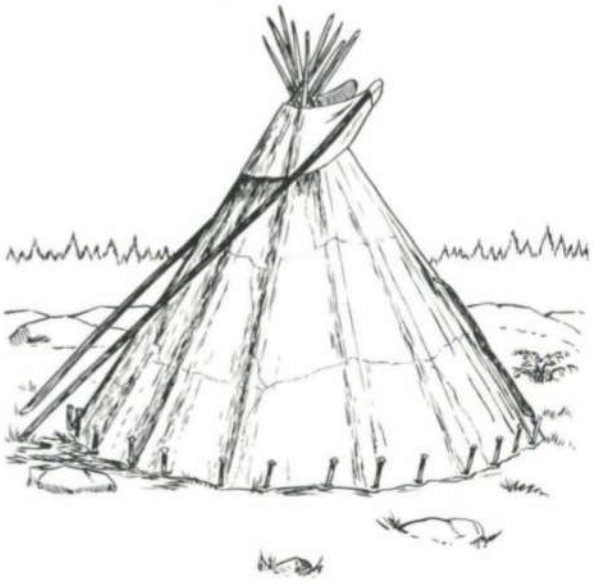
Caribou occurred in tremendous numbers and upon these animals the Chipewyan depended almost entirely for existence. The caribou each spring migrated northward to the Barren Lands for the summer. The Chipewyan, if they were to exploit this animal, had to leave the protection of the forests and follow them. This they did.

Within the forests occurred moose, black bear, beaver, and many smaller animals that at times were of use to the Chipewyan. Many birds reside in the area although generally only for the months of open water. Perhaps the most important of these were ptarmigan and grouse which remain the year around and waterfowl, summer visitors. Fish—trout, whitefish, pike, burbot, suckers, and tullibee—inhabit the lakes and rivers.

The Chipewyan were hunters, primarily of caribou, there being no other alternatives. Agriculture was not possible because of the harsh climatic conditions and local resources, such as fish or vegetal foods, were of insufficient quantity to have supported the people.

Since the Chipewyan were primarily caribou hunters, they adapted their way of life and yearly cycle to this animal. The winter was spent in the forested areas in search of caribou and the summers on the Barren Lands continuing the hunt for caribou. The caribou supplied food and materials for making various items of equipment. Besides their importance in the material realm, caribou were also one focus in the religious life of the Chipewyan. There was a ruler of the caribou, and the Aurora Borealis, it was thought, represented caribou.

Tent of caribou skin.



Caribou are hunted using 'chute' and blind.

Ritual behaviour was accorded various other animals but no elaborate rituals or masked dances were performed. Many spirits inhabited the world and it was the shaman who communicated with them. A small domed lodge was used for the performance.

The yearly movements of the Chipewyan were under the direction of important men. These were not chiefs in any formal sense; rather, they were individuals with forceful personalities who had the ability to lead.

Winters were long and perhaps the most difficult months for the Chipewyan. At this season the people lived in small groups of several families each scattered about the forests, and often on the move.

In winter, caribou were taken in a variety of ways. In one, snares were used. In open country or on frozen lakes two rows of poles which converged toward one another were erected. At the point where they almost met, a pen of poles was built. Openings were left in the walls of the enclosure and here the snares were hung. Caribou caught in this way were killed with bow and arrow or a dagger.

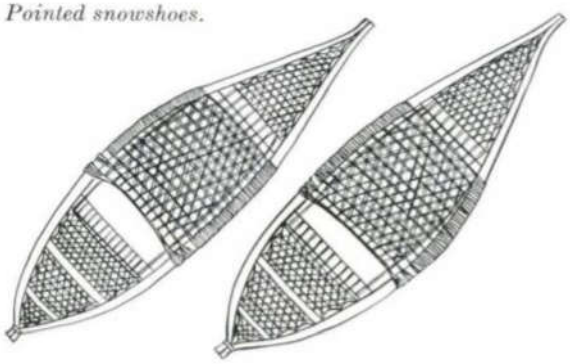
Black bear were hunted during the winter when they were in hibernation. After a den had been located several men effected the kill. A hole was made in the side of the lair and as the animal emerged it was dispatched with a club. Black bear were killed in deadfalls as were wolverine and small fur-bearing animals. Beaver houses and the retreats of the animal were located and the houses broken into, driving the beaver to their hiding places. With an ice pick, a hiding place was opened, the lumps of ice removed with an ice scoop, the beaver pulled out with a hook-shaped implement and killed with a blow from the ice pick. Hare and ptarmigan were also taken during the winter, commonly in snares.

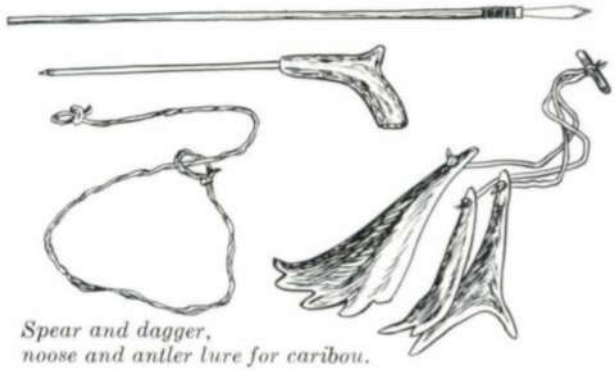
The women prepared the meat and hides. Caribou hides were cleaned with two types of scrapers. One, a beamer, was held in both hands and the other in one hand. Beaver pelts were stretched on hoops of willow branches.

Fishing, next to caribou hunting, was of greatest importance to the Chipewyan. Gill nets were used in winter but not always for hook and line were often employed at this time of year.

Mobility during the winter was important in the search for food. Pointed snowshoes were worn, the frames being made of birch or larch wood, the webbing of caribou hide. To transport their possessions, the Chipewyan used toboggans of larch wood. The addition of a back rest and hide sides was probably due to European influence. When no toboggan was available, loads were conveyed on caribou hides. Women hauled the toboggans; the use of dogs was a late development. Infants were carried on the women's backs until the Chipewyan acquired the idea of cradle boards from the Cree.

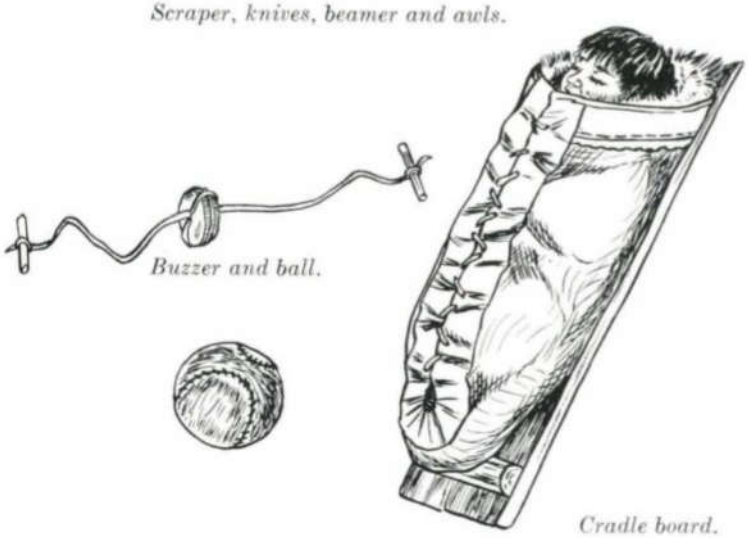
Pointed snowshoes.





Spear and dagger, noose and antler lure for caribou.

Scraper, knives, beamer and awls.



Buzzer and ball.

Cradle board.

Protection from the winter cold was essential and for this the Chipewyan used as a dwelling a conical lodge. The framework was of poles and the covering consisted of dehaired caribou skins, sixty to seventy for a large lodge. A smoke deflector was placed at the apex which was left open and located directly over the fireplace. Outside, the lodge was banked with snow for additional warmth. Such dwellings were easily and quickly erected and convenient to transport.

Household furnishings were not numerous, nor could they be if the people were to be free to move often and rapidly. Birch-bark containers were used for cooking. Other items included wooden bowls and spoons made of antler. Legskin bags—the skin from the lower legs of caribou was used—were made in which to store dried meat. Bags were also made of split swans' feet.

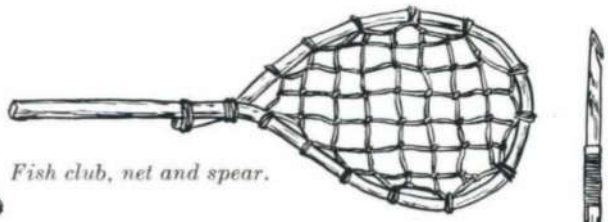
Besides shelters for protection from the winter cold, clothing was essential especially when working outside. For clothing caribou hide was used. Men wore a hooded fur coat and dehaired leggings and moccasins. The women's winter costume was similar. In addition, mittens were worn.

With the coming of spring, the Chipewyan entered a new phase of the yearly cycle. After the long cold months of winter, warmth began to return to the country and with it renewed life. Waterfowl flew in from the south and the caribou became restless and began to move north out of the protective forests to the Barren Lands. The Chipewyan moved with them. Travelling at break-up posed certain problems. The snow was melting and the ice was rotten making it difficult to move with snowshoes and toboggans. Instead, for the first part of the journey, the Chipewyan travelled by canoe-sleds, consisting of two runners joined by cross-slats. Such a vehicle was better than a toboggan since it raised the load above the slush and melt water. The Chipewyan before they entered the Barren Lands stopped for a time at a spot where suitable birch trees grew and here constructed birch-bark canoes. If birch bark was not available, the canoe frame was covered with spruce bark or caribou hides. The frame was constructed using crooked knives and awls, the universal woodworking tools of the northern Indians. After building their canoes, they travelled on following the water courses as the ice disappeared.

Once on the Barren Lands, the search for food continued. Fish were taken where possible, the Chipewyan using bows and arrows, spears, gill nets, and weirs. A meshed scoop was employed to remove the fish from the weir and a wooden club to dispatch it. Caribou were taken by using a 'chute' without the 'pound' since sufficient poles with which to make a pound were scarce. Sticks were erected in two converging rows at the end of which the hunters waited concealed behind rocks. The caribou were then manoeuvred into the trap.

Moose were attracted within range of bow and arrow by imitating the bleat of the calf. The sound was produced with a cone made of birch bark. Beaver were taken

Legskin bag.



Fish club, net and spear.

in hand-operated nets. Waterfowl, geese, swans, and ducks were caught in snares. To do this, fences, in which openings were left, were built out from the shore of a pond. In the openings snares of babiche were hung. Gathering was of very little importance. A few birds' eggs and some berries were collected as a supplement to the diet.

Cooking was relatively simple. Generally food was boiled using hot stones and a caribou stomach or birch-bark box but sometimes meat was roasted. Marrow and fish were eaten raw. To preserve flesh it was dried, thin slices being hung on a wooden frame under which a small fire was built. The dried meat was pounded fine with a stone hammer, boiled with caribou fat and then poured into caribou guts.

Warfare which might occur at any time of the year was not a prominent feature of Chipewyan culture. Wooden shields and clubs were used.

Summer was a period of the year when work was easier and there was time to relax. Games—bullroarer, buzzer, hand ball, and cup and pin—were played.

With the approach of fall, the Chipewyan began to move south along with the caribou to the protection of the forests for the coming winter months. At this time bull caribou were sometimes attracted within range of bow and arrow by means of rattling several pieces of antler together. This was the rutting season and the bull, thinking that other bulls were fighting, approached to investigate. The principal method though of killing caribou during the fall migration was to spear the animals from canoes.

Once the Chipewyan had returned to the forest and winter had set in, a new yearly round once more commenced.

No longer do the Chipewyan follow the caribou. Unfortunately, only a fraction of the former enormous herds survive. The Chipewyan have been heavily influenced by European culture and yet those who have remained in the north must eat. Accordingly, hunting excursions are undertaken and when caribou are located they are shot with high powered rifles, no longer with bow and arrow. Attempts have been made to settle the Chipewyan in villages but limited opportunities for gainful employment have made this difficult. A new trend is now taking place. The Chipewyan are moving back to their former camping sites. ◆

The winter toboggan has sides of skins.

NORTHERN BOOKS

CAMPBELL OF THE YUKON

Edited, with comment, notes and appendix, by Clifford P. Wilson. Macmillan, Toronto, 1970. xxvi, 185 pages, maps, illus. $8.95.

Reviewed by R. M. Patterson

Here, at long last, is a biography of Western Canada's forgotten explorer, Robert Campbell—a biography which is, necessarily, very largely an account of his travels. Diligent research has enabled Mr Wilson to unite in one coherent story letters, extracts from journals and diaries, and *disjecta membra* scattered across Canada from sea to sea. Good fortune and the co-operation of Campbell's descendants have made it possible to compile a full account of the adventurous years, a feat which is the more remarkable when one realizes that most of Campbell's papers were burnt in a warehouse fire in Levis, Quebec, when their owner was away in Scotland.

A large part of the book is Campbell's, and the passages told in his words are linked and extended by Mr Wilson's commentary. The gaps are thus filled in, and the resulting narrative carries the reader easily on from the arrival in Canada of the young sub-manager of the Hudson's Bay Company's experimental farm at Red River in 1830, through his years of exploration on the Liard headwaters and over the Yukon divide, to his establishment of his cherished Fort Selkirk at the confluence of the Pelly and the Lewes in 1848. Then comes the year of disaster, 1852, when Fort Selkirk was looted and destroyed by the Chilkat Indians. That was in August. When the Chilkats were gone Campbell set out for Fort Simpson on the Mackenzie. Travelling with two men in a light birch-bark canoe, he ascended the Pelly and made the portage to Frances Lake. From there he ran and portaged the rapids and canyons of the Frances and Liard Rivers, the most dangerous fur-trade route in the West, arriving at Simpson on 21 October in running ice.

On 30 November, after the Mackenzie had frozen, he set out again, this time on snowshoes with two men and a dog-team, taking leave that was due to him and planning to request to be allowed to re-establish Fort Selkirk. The snowshoe part of the trip out terminated in Crow Wing, Minnesota. It established a record for that time, the distance being 3,000 miles.

To his great disappointment his request was disallowed, and the remainder of his service was passed in charge of established posts and districts at Forts Simpson, Liard, Chipewyan and Pelly—the last named being a prairie post near the head of the Assiniboine River. There he remained until 1870-71 when his almost simultaneous resignation and dismissal from the Company's service took effect—the dismissal resulting from the steps he took to safeguard the Company's furs during the first Riel uprising, a curious reward for a Chief Factor of outstanding merit.*

Campbell's style of writing is lively and most readable, and his editor is to be congratulated on his treatment of the subject matter. An exciting book like this should eventually be made available to the young in the *Great Stories of Canada* series, condensed and simplified as has been Marjorie Wilkins Campbell's *The Nor'Westers*. A copy should then be in every Canadian school.

*No documentary evidence that Campbell was dismissed has been found in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives —Ed.

Mr Patterson, author of numerous articles and books, has canoed through much of the northwest fur trade country and studied its history.

AGHVOOK, WHITE ESKIMO

A Biography of Otto Geist

By Charles J. Keim. University of Alaska Press, distributed by University of Washington Press, Seattle, 1969. 313+xix pages, illus., index. $7.50

Reviewed by Dorothy Jean Ray

Frank Otto William Geist was one of the last old-time naturalists of Alaska—a self-made archaeologist and palaeontologist, whose life story is told by Charles J. Keim, journalist and dean of the College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Alaska, in this action-packed book.

Otto (everyone called him Otto) had read the manuscript of his biography before he died in 1963 at his birthplace in Bavaria, from which he had emigrated to the United States in 1910. He worked as farm labourer, chauffeur, and mechanic, and served in the United States Army during World War I before joining a brother in Alaska in 1923. After stints of working on the construction of the new Alaska railroad, on river boats, and as a prospector, he became associated with the small and struggling school that is now the University of Alaska. He ultimately undertook archaeological investigations on St Lawrence Island and made many trips as fossil collector for the Frick Laboratory of the American Museum of Natural History. One of Otto's delights was to take Fairbanks visitors

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to his local working areas where powerful hoses stripped the frozen earth to the gold-bearing strata, and incidentally, to the Pleistocene animal bones.

The most important parts of the book are Otto's field notes about St Lawrence Island Eskimos from whom he received the name, Aghvook, or whale, in 1927. The notes are sometimes naive, as in terminology like 'moon worship' or 'whale worship', but they are objective and always sympathetic toward the people Otto was writing about. Apparently there are many more such anthropological notes and others of zoological interest in Otto's accumulated papers, which are now at the University of Alaska.

Some readers might wonder how a whole book could be devoted to Otto Geist when many other persons, with incomparably greater scientific attainments, go unsung. An ostensible reason is that Otto was a man of the old Alaska that is swiftly succumbing to the jet age, the oil fields, and the new people of glamour and wealth. He was a pioneer of the land and of the opportunities that have sustained the heritage of the North. As example, the collections from his trips, sometimes at his own expense, substantially contributed to the establishment of the University of Alaska Museum. Another reason barely mentioned by the author was Otto's concern for the underdog or the man in need. He was a fighter for native rights when fighting for such rights was an unpopular cause. Otto, as Professor Keim says, was a 'pioneer explorer and investigator', a 'collector', but above all, he was a humanitarian, and for that he should be remembered.

Mrs Ray, anthropologist and author, has devoted many years to study of Alaskan Eskimo culture and history and knew Otto Geist well.

MY CANADIAN JOURNAL 1872-1878

By Lady Dufferin. Edited and annotated by Gladys Chantler Walker. Longmans Canada, Don Mills, 1969. Illus. 325 pages. $5.95.

Reviewed by Flora Hamilton Burns

The attractive photographs of Lord and Lady Dufferin on the dust jacket of this publication immediately arrest attention, and its contents are highly intriguing. Originally published in 1891, the *Journal* has been out of print for many years, and as the centenary of Lord Dufferin's term as Viceroy approaches it is most opportune and appropriate that this fascinating, on-the-spot portrayal of Canada in the first decade of Confederation should become available.

The *Journal* is delightfully written —personal, intimate, refreshing, with witty comments and unique sidelights on personalities and events. Lady Dufferin's vivid powers of description and keen sense of fun carry us with her on their amazing journeys across North America from Atlantic to Pacific, and her thumbnail sketches of people and places are a joy. We share their adventures in the Northwest: Manitoba, Red River, Winnipeg, shooting the Grand Rapids of the Saskatchewan in a York boat, meeting the Indians and their Chiefs, the Mennonites, Icelanders and many other nationalities as well as the British and French settlers. Beyond the Rockies we see the menage arranged for them in Victoria with the invaluable Chinese cook and his child bride, their journeys to the Skeena River, the Queen Charlotte Islands, up the Fraser Canyon by carriage, wagon, and boat, camping by night, and all the joys and discomforts of travel in a vast, new country a century ago.

The characters of the Dufferins themselves come out vividly and so attractively. They put their whole hearts and souls into every day and all they saw and did. Much of their travelling must have been extremely exhausting but they wished never to 'miss anything' and never complained. They loved the people everywhere; Quebec and its inhabitants were their first and last loves. Lady Dufferin would have liked a house in the city of Quebec, but they rented a house at Tadoussac for the summers and improvised a movable, two-room 'hut' on the St John River, Gaspé, for the fishing. They took part in every type of sport, and Lord Dufferin 'danced all night at a ball and never flagged till four in the morning, being pronounced "a brick" by the young ladies of Montreal and elsewhere'.

Lady Dufferin avoids politics but once or twice quotes passages from her husband's speeches which are masterpieces. There was never any 'communications gap' between the Dufferins and the Canadian people, and in a farewell speech Lord Dufferin said:

> During a period of six years I have mingled in your society, taken part in your sports and pastimes, interested myself in your affairs and business, become one of you in thought and feeling, and never have I received at your hands, whether in my public or in my private capacity, anything but the kindest consideration, the most indulgent sympathy, and the warmest welcome.

The *Journal* is a most human document, whose author was twenty-nine when she commenced the diary, a young wife and mother, two of whose children were born in Canada, and it has much to offer of enjoyment, interest, and historical content to Canadians, young and old, today.

Miss Burns, whose family were early residents of Victoria, B.C., is a freelance writer and broadcaster with a particular interest in cultural and historical subjects relating to the west coast.

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HARPOON OF THE HUNTER

By Markoosie, illustrated by Germaine Arnaktauyok. McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal and London, 1970. 81 pages, $4.95.

This book is the first to be written in English by a Canadian Eskimo. Markoosie, an arctic pilot wrote it on weekends at his home in Resolute Bay. The tale is one his grandfather used to tell about a hunt for a rabid and wounded polar bear. When a teacher sent the manuscript to Inuttituut, the Eskimo language magazine of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development it was published in Eskimo syllabics as he had written it. The Department urged Markoosie to do an English translation which was accepted for publication by McGill-Queen's University Press. The story is fast-moving but may have suffered in translation when English phrases used were inadequate to convey the full original thought.

Markoosie's first article will appear in *The Beaver*. He is an articulate and perceptive young man who has recently lived through an era of transition as dramatic as any in the history of mankind. He plans to write of the change in another volume; he will have much of interest to say.—*H.B.*

ESKIMO PREHISTORY

By Hans-Georg Bandi. Translated by Ann E. Keep. University of Alaska Press, distributed by University of Washington Press, Seattle, 1969. 170 pages, maps, illus. $6.50.

Reviewed by William E. Taylor, Jr.

Those who have waited since the 1964 appearance of Bandi's *Urgeschichte der Eskimo* will be well rewarded with this excellent translation which includes new finds published as late as 1968. An abundance of drawings and photographs of both sites and artifacts and many maps along with a comprehensive bibliography add to the merits of Bandi's balanced text. Although each northern archaeologist will have his own corrections, this is surely the best book on Eskimo prehistory for the layman or the student. Its only worthy companion is the more autobiographical *Ancient Hunters of the Arctic* by J. L. Giddings.

After an introduction summarizing Eskimo ethnography and research, Bandi devotes a chapter to first discoverers of America. Here he follows the impressive interpretations of Mueller-Beck in a lucid discussion of the vast Bering land bridge and continental glaciation with the suggestion that America's first people were non-Eskimo who drifted east across the land bridge about 25,000 B.C. Chapter III sketches the history of Eskimo archaeological research and praises the 'tremendous effort' of Canada's National Museum. The fourth chapter, taking up more than half the book, reviews sites, finds, and prehistoric cultures from Siberia and Alaska across Canada to Greenland. Bandi's conclusions, 'A Mosaic with Many Gaps', make a game attempt to tie it all together but, realistically, he stresses how little we know, the complexity of the problem, and the conflicts in our interpretations—and how rapidly new discoveries change our assessments of the five thousand years of Eskimo prehistory.

For the layman the book might be a little too given to artifacts and a little short on narrative on prehistoric cultures or the enlightening sidelights of arctic field work. One recalls Giddings' admirable Kobuk River trip, Collins' seventeen-day seminar on eating fish ducks, Mathiassen's notable sled rides, various storm-tossed little boats, archaeologists with runny noses and tired backs.

Relative to arctic Canada one may note that the northern Ungava interior is also Eskimo country (p. 5), Foxe Basin, not 'Fox River basin' (p. 137), that Dorset sites are not 'always' on the coast (p. 141), that an overdependence on Iglulik interpretations leads to inept handling of Dorset art (p. 144-5), that regional variations in old Eskimo cultures are understated, that Collins and I have each been a little misunderstood on different points (p. 154, p. 148), that the distribution of Thule culture is overstated. American-trained Eskimologists will probably regret that the explanation for the demise of Thule culture, and rise of recent Central Eskimo culture, rests on traditional European views of those developments and the old, over-simple, inland-coastal dichotomy. The old statement that 'Tunit' were thought to be Indian or Thule culture Eskimo in arctic Canada must be corrected for I think North American archaeologists have long taken the term to mean the older, Dorset culture people.

Perhaps Bandi will consider some of these suggested changes for the next edition—for so good a book will surely have future editions in which he will incorporate new discoveries from Alaska where active research is revealing that state's complex prehistory, from Siberia where there are vital finds, and from Canada where a new generation of able archaeologists probe the five thousand years of Eskimo past.

Dr Taylor, Director of the National Museum of Man, is an archaeologist who has done much field work in the Canadian Arctic.

THE PAPERS OF THE PALLISER EXPEDITION

Edited with introduction and notes by Irene M. Spry. The Champlain Society, Toronto, 1968. cxxxviii plus 694 pages. (Distributed to members.)

Reviewed by Eric W. Morse

Most of the early exploration of Canada was by canoe, in quest of furs. As a result, as late as 1850, the horse country of the southern Prairies and the Rockies was still little known, except by rumour and tall tales. This is the historical context for the remarkable 1857-60 expedition of Captain John Palliser.

Palliser's commission from the British Colonial Office was to examine no less than: (1) the route between Lake Superior and Red River; (2) the southern Prairies, west of the Assiniboine; (3) the Rockies, to look for practicable passes south of the Athabasca Pass. He was to make detailed scientific investigations covering the topography, climate, flora, fauna, and resources, as well as the potential for agriculture and transportation.

Possibly to too large a degree, in the popular mind, the name Palliser has become associated with 'Palliser's Triangle', a vast semi-arid tract resting on 700 miles of the border, with its apex near the junction of the North and South Saskatchewan—an extension of the Great American Desert. Palliser actually had stressed the fertility of the areas adjacent to the triangle.

The real achievement of the Expedition commands respect. Palliser and his lieutenants, Hector, Blakiston, and Sullivan—who sometimes took off on ancillary explorations—were able to make, in Professor Spry's words: 'a comprehensive summing up of the character of the whole enormous sweep of the plain between the Red River and the Rockies, as far north as the Athabasca. Moreover, they had crossed the Rockies, not just by one southern British pass, but by six. No one but such great predecessors as Thompson or Fidler had covered so much territory west of the Great Lakes as the members of the Expedition had covered.'

Palliser was rather superficial in his survey of the canoe route between Fort William and Lake Winnipeg, especially when it is contrasted with the meticulous accuracy of the report of the almost contemporaneous Canadian expedition, written up by its geologist, Professor H. Y. Hind. Palliser as much as admits this in a letter to Dr Hector, saying: 'I fear we have not been as diligent as we ought to have been when on that part of the route.' Palliser's part in the exploration of Canada—despite his broad mandate—therefore applies to the country west of the Assiniboine and through the Rockies.

Irene Spry's contribution, as editor, to this latest publication of the Champlain Society is very great. Her style of writing makes the 138-page Introduction good reading. Her scholarship is monumental and impressive. When she took on the research, her task was complicated by the fact that the Palliser home in Ireland was burnt down in 1923, with the loss of all his papers. The search

for Palliser material in other forms was carried out in archives in England, Scotland, New Zealand, and all across the U.S.A. and Canada. Not only did she track down the written word, but also men who could relate Palliser's route to modern landmarks, so that her copious footnotes bring life and immediacy to Palliser's story.

It is unfortunate indeed that this important 700-page book is virtually only privately distributed, for it would be of immense interest to historians, geographers, and even to armchair voyageurs.

Eric W. Morse is author of 'Fur Trade Canoe Routes of Canada: Then and Now'.

KOOTENAI BROWN
His Life and Times.

By William Rodney. Gray's Publishing Ltd., Sidney, B.C., 1969. 251 pages, illus. $7.50

Reviewed by Shelagh S. Jameson

Kootenai Brown stands high among the heroes of Western Canada's history—and William Rodney's biography unequivocally establishes the right of this notable character to such a place of honour.

For those with some knowledge of his adventuresome life an aura of romance envelops the redoubtable John George 'Kootenai' Brown. Soldier, prospector, trader, wolfer, mail rider, scout, guide, game warden; a man who was equally at home attending a glittering military ball in Calcutta, hunting buffalo with the Métis on the Canadian plains, freighting supplies by pack train for the CPR into the Crow's Nest Pass, typing pertinent well-worded communications to the government in Ottawa regarding the National Park at Waterton; it was inevitable that legends developed around him.

These tales compounded the work of biographer William Rodney. He was confronted with the task of finding the facts among the legends, discovering the true Kootenai Brown. It was a formidable undertaking but one for which the writer was very well equipped. His search led him over much of the country covered by Kootenai himself—the Cariboo, the Canadian and American plains, County Clare in Ireland, the mountain trails and lake shores at Waterton. Research was carried out at archives and libraries across the continent on both sides of the border, and on the other side of the Atlantic; interviews were conducted with old timers who had known Kootenai Brown.

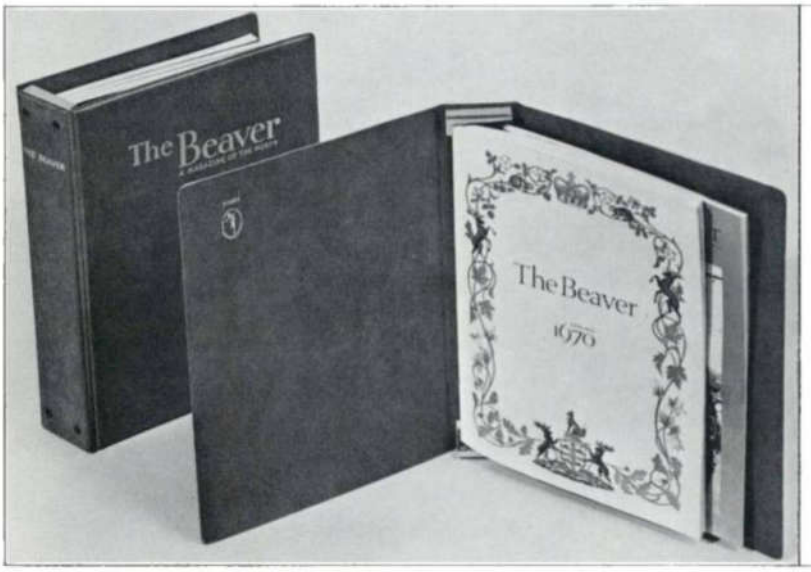
From the wealth of primary material amassed and under the masterful pen of the author, the real character takes shape. Rodney finds him a man of contrasts, a man who, out of his interest in theosophy and study of philosophical works, writes in his diary one day, 'The music of the fountains of knowledge is only heard by the ear trained to catch its melody'; and who, after a carousal with a Métis friend, notes on another occasion, 'Frenchy here. Whiskey all gone. Glad of it.'

He is revealed as a tough but warm and friendly human being with 'a sharp temper', 'old fashioned courtesy, his words soft-spoken'. Much of his contribution to history was nebulous, a part of the warp and woof of the growing country, the times through which he lived; but one facet stands out in bold relief—as the author phrases it, 'his contribution through Waterton Lakes to Canada's national heritage remains, like the Shining Mountains, forever bright'.

A true historian, William Rodney develops the story of his hero against the background of history; Kootenai Brown's life runs like a thread through the mosaic pattern of the West's development. This book therefore will be an excellent source for students of Western Canadian history and, as such students will note with rejoicing, it is indexed and documented with meticulous care and includes a detailed bibliography.

The West is still comparatively young and only recently has there developed an awareness of the fascination, the significance of its history. Surely, through books such as this will come wider recognition and deeper appreciation of our history and of the unique characters, such as Kootenai Brown, who give it colour and vibrant life.

Miss Jameson is the archivist of the Glenbow-Alberta Institute and is known for her articles and talks on western Canadiana.



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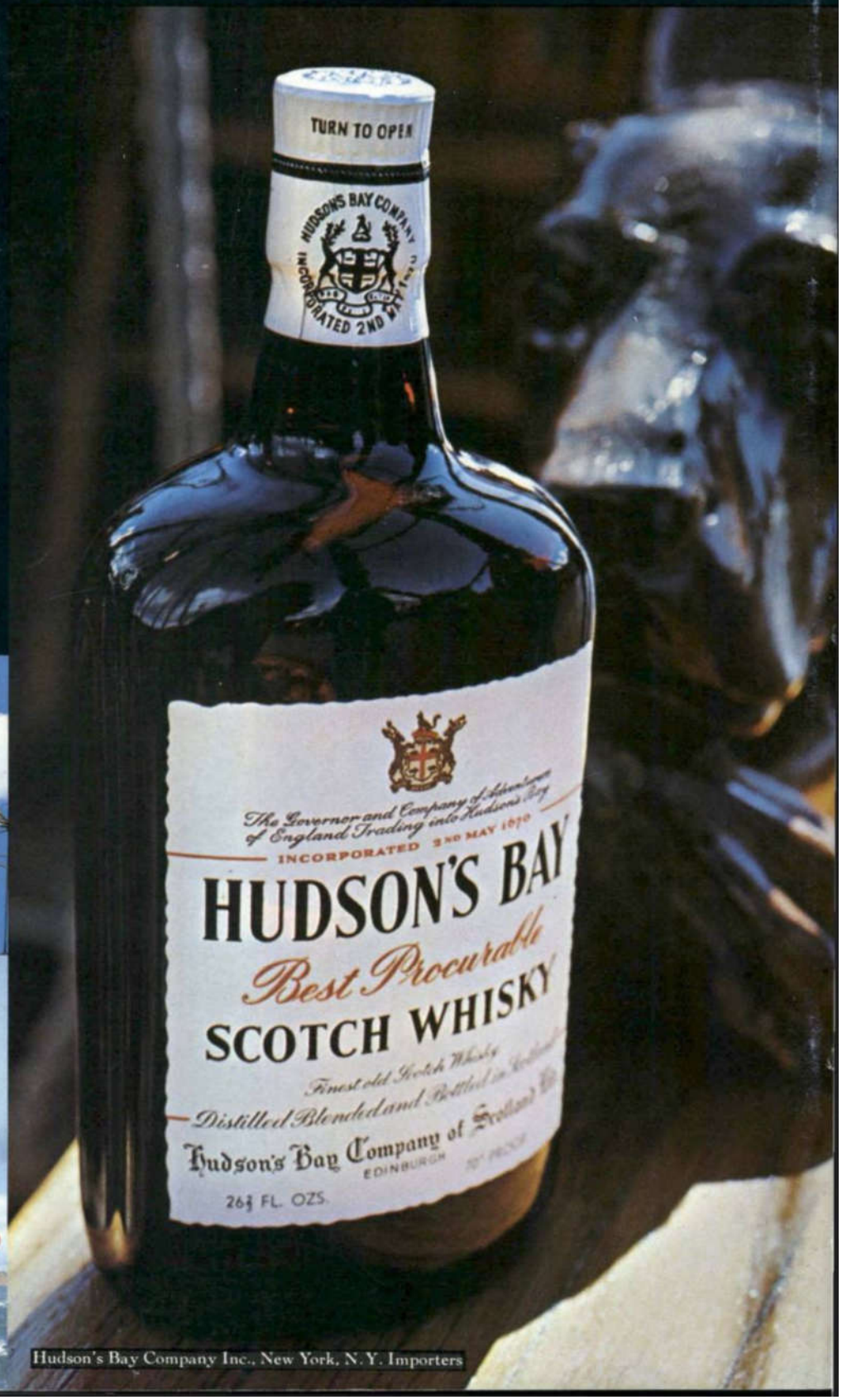

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